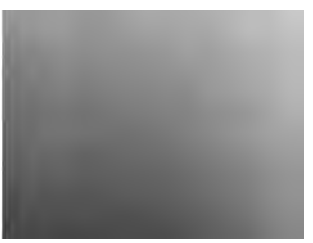

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A

DIALOGUE

BETWEEN

Timothy and *Philatheus*.

In which the

PRINCIPLES and PROJECTS

OF A

Late Whimsical BOOK;

Entituled, The

Rights of the Christian Church, &c.

Are fairly Stated and Answer'd in their Kind:

And some Attempts made towards the Discovery of a new Way of *Reasoning*, intirely unknown both to the Ancients and Moderns.

Written by a LAYMAN.

VOL. I.

Behold, my Desire is, that mine Adversary had written a BOOK! *Job* xxxi. 35.

The Second Edition.

LONDON:

Printed by *W. B.* for BERNARD LINTOTT, at the *Cross-Keys*, between the two *Temple-Gates*, in *Fleet-Street*. 1709.

[redacted]

TO THE

Grand Committee

FOR

RELIGION,

Appointed by the

Honourable House of Commons

Now assembled in

PARLIAMENT.

May it please your Honours:

THE Provocations of the *Rights* are so great and so many, that I dare confidently presume; were the Church, *the*

Virgin, the Daughter of Sion, to appear perſonally in her own Defence, ſhe would uſe *this*, as ſhe once did a much more formidable || Enemy, *would deſpiſe and laugh him to Scorn, and ſhake her Head at him.* Who can abſtain, where there is ſuch a glorious Object of Ridicule and Buffoonry, in an Age ſo full of Spleen, and in ſuch want of Diverſion? But whatever Temptations one may lye under to make the whole Diſpute Uniform, and of a Piece,

|| 2 Kings xix. 21.

I muſt

muſt here take up and
e ſerious in ſo Auguſt a
reſence, whilſt I addreſs
he great Guardians of our
Religion and Liberties;
The Fabulous and Bur-
eſque part of the enſuing
Work, the Emblems and
igures, belong only to
ny Adverſary, but the
Moral is humbly ſubmit-
ed to You: And this Mo-
al is the Cauſe of that
God whom we adore, and
f that Church, to which,
y *declaring it to be in no*
Danger, You have given,
n concert with the Royal
Word and Promiſe, the
eſt human Security ima-

ginable, Your own Powerful Protection.

So Sacred are the Sanctions of Truth, that whoever claims Audience in that Venerable Name, is Indulg'd in the full Freedom of urging his Pretensions: has the Liberty of working upon an inquisitive Age, and must be heard impartially and with leisure; But when the Debate is over, and the Cause thoroughly Examined: 'tis necessary that publick Authority should proceed to Judgment, least we wander in a perpetual maze

maze of Doubt and Perplexity, and our Love of Truth degenerate into Fondness and Dotage, which end too often in the Ruin of the Unhappy Favourite.

ALL Men must grant, that the things contain'd in this Controversy, are of too publick and important a Nature, to be left unsettled by the Government; How many of them are already so settled, I need not mention: Nor yet the Insolence and Folly of opposing that Settlement; But my Adversa-

ry has *formally Appealed to the Majority of the People*, and is now, by his own Choice, Judicially before You; I am too well acquainted with his Assurance, not to suppose how far he will presume on your Silence: especially since he makes *Tacit Consent* to be one of the Fundamentals of Polity.

ORDINARY Libels and vulgar Faction, are contented to vent their Satyr on the lesser Imperfections of State, and those Infirmities, which are the unavoidable Conditions of all Human

uman Beings; A few ıbordinate Blemiſhes are ıough to entertain their alice, and the Vengeıce of one or two *Laws*, as much as their Impuıce can attain to: But hen the Conſtitution it lf is inſulted, when the riginals of all Order and overnment are Libelled d Traduc'd: This is a rime worthy your Juıdiction, and the great ouncil and tutelar Anls of the People are then treated to appear in the uſe, *and to ſtrive with l thoſe that riſe up aginſt us.*

Good,

The Dedication.

God, and a good Government be thanked, the most important Truths, those that concern Religion and Justice, are so mutually Twisted and Interwoven with each other, Join'd and United by so many vital Ligaments, and cemented with a Reciprocal Communication of Heat and Vigour: that they both Mourn and Rejoice, Fourish and Decay together: If one is injur'd, the other resents it: If one is wounded, the other shares the Pain; But when both are assaulted at once

both

th should unite their
ices against the com-
on Enemy and Op-
ssor.

IT is the business of the
bust and manly Parts,
defend the curious A-
mal Frame within: And
e Arm of Flesh must
elter, for its own sake,
at Life, which depends
pon the Thread of a
erve, *or the Breath of an*
eath of our Nostrils:
hus Religion, [illegible]
e Soul and [illegible]
ate, [illegible]
tegum [illegible]
Secur[illegible]

ly to enliven it with new Vigour and Spirit, but in return, to be guarded with external Force, and the Strength and Protection of the Society; for this reason, our own, as well as other great and wise Nations, is provided with Laws *Penal* and *Mulctuary*, for securing the Interests of Religion, and preserving the great Mysteries and primary Notions of Christianity, Sacred and Inviolate; For these we have spent Mountains of Treasure, and Rivers of Blood: and thought them but a trifling

ing Venture, for ſo va-
iable a Purchaſe; and
is not the Bliſter'd
'ongue of the Scoffer, or
ie Sacrilegious Pen of
ie Blaſphemer, or any
ich envenom'd Arms,
iat ſhall wreſt the Prize
it of our Hands; Tho'we
retch the *Compaſs*, and
nlarge the *Circle:* yet let
s not deviate from the
entre, or remove the an-
ient Standards of Reli-
ion; Whilſt *Moderation*
nakes Proteſtants, let *Ju-*
ice purſue the Infidel:
That Juſtice, with which, if
e neglect it, *Lycurgus*,
Numa, and *Solon* will up-

braid us, *for this alſo is a Iniquity to be puniſh'd the Judge.*

To avoid the Vengeance due to ſuch Enormities, *The Book of Righ* (Prodigious Irony) sku in Obſcurity, and retir to its dark Element, fro whence it utters the infe nal Oracles, and makes worth your enquiry, wh ther he that Dictates, a Fiend of this World of the other; which is predominant through ample Collection of rors, Nonſenſe, or In ty, may be juſtly r

Queſtion: He is perhaps the firſt Adventurer of this kind, who, with *the Laughter of Fools*, and Grin of Furies, has endeavour'd to ridicule us out of our Religion and Senſes together, and thereby expos'd himſelf to the juſteſt Scorn and Contempt imaginable; If there are any ſo Ignorant, or ſo Debauch'd, as to endeavour to form a Party upon his Principles: a publick Brand and Mark of Infamy, in the known Style of *Scandalous*, *Incorrigible*, and *Vexatious*, &c. will ſilence that abandon'd Crew,

Crew, and convince the arrogant Wretch, that he has taken a wrong Method in his affected Folly and Madneſs: and ſince he reſolv'd *to be in Sport*, that he ſhould have choſen much more harmleſs Weapons, than *Arrows*, *Firebrands*, *and Death.*

THE Monſter has ſhewn himſelf far and near, and all that ſee him are aſtoniſh'd at his Deformity: 'Tis not enough that one County, or one Jury, ſhould pronounce his Doom: The *Wiſdom* of *Mid-*

† *Midlesex* is too narrow a Judicatory for such a Criminal: Nothing less than the *Wisdom* of the *Nation*, can make his Sentence as Universal, as his Folly.

By his own Laws he stands condemn'd, as well as by ours: and is as great a Contradiction to himself as to the rest of Mankind: This should rouze an injur'd People, and provoke them to be unanimous in his Conviction; especially, since he has virulently insulted Your *Power of the*

† *See their* Presentment *of* the Rights.

Keys, tho' he acknowledges no other.

HIS pretended Zeal against Popery, Slavery, and Persecution, is but a meer Masque of Words, a continu'd Opposition between Names and Things, the common Sanctuary of designing Men: since underhand he promotes all those hateful Absurdities; He is a Complication of all that's Pernicious and Abominable; There is nothing truly valuable and dear to us, whether as *Britains*, *Protestants*, *Christians*, or *Men*, but is

is here notoriouſly proſtituted and abus'd; He has *rent the Veil of the Temple in twain*, and made a Breach wide enough to let in Anarchy and Confuſion: *has tumbled the Throne down to the Ground, and laid the Mitre in the Duſt*; Our happy Conſtitution, ſo nicely pois'd in a Golden Mean, between the Two Extreams of Tyranny and Diſtraction, he has labour'd to Level and Confound in endleſs Perplexity and Diſorder; His Notion of a *Mob-State*, is but Chimerical and Imaginary: He knows it na-

turally ends in Slavery and Usurpation, and 'tis for their sake he promotes it. There is not a Party or Sect amongst us, however conscientious, but he has maliciously reproach'd and vilify'd; Nothing, however sacred, is secure from his Malice; *Majesty*, and *Honour*, the *Dignity* of *Parliaments*, the *Privileges* of the *People*, the *Succession*, the *Church*, the *Protestant Religion*, *Episcopacy*, *Presbytery*, *Revelation*, and *Nature*, are all partakers in the Scandal, and the joint Object of his Indignation; In short, he

is

is *Legion*: The Great Serpent has ſwallow'd all its little ones, and the Magiſtrate had never ſo fair an opportunity before, to cruſh the whole Brood at a Blow.

WHEN the Rights of Monarch and People have been invaded, it was always the Fate and Honour of the *Church* of *England*, to ſuffer chearfully in ſuch good Company: But whilſt we are glorying in our happy Conſtitution, and recommending the Beauties of our Church to thoſe afar off, who from

a faint Repreſentation of Her Charms, are already inclin'd to admire Her: Is it a Time, to expoſe Her to Mockery and Contempt? Is this a juſt Return, for Her Gentleneſs, Mildneſs, and Compaſſion? Judge all, to which ſide went the *Spirit* of *Perſecution*, and how much is his hate improv'd againſt Her, and how inveterate is his Malice! When She was *Perſecuted*, *Afflicted*, *Tormented:* When She lay in the Duſt, drank Her Tears, and laviſh'd Her Blood, to glut Her Enemies, and feed Her Chil-

dren

dren: She was then comly in Her Wounds, and lovely in Her Sorrows, becauſe Innocent and Unſpotted: But to have Her Reputation queſtion'd, and Her Chaſtity attempted, is worſe than Racks, Wheels, and Gibbets: And what *Roman*, or *Grecian* Virgin, would not rather meet Death in his worſt Form, than be deliver'd up to the Luſt and Sport of the incens'd Raviſher?

THE Majority of the People, in whoſe Name theſe Abominations are utter'd, do *twice* every

Week ſolemnly diſclaim them: And You that repreſent us, may as loudly proclaim that in the Senate, which we all unanimouſly aſſent to in the Church; *The Voice of the People* would then be truly, *the Voice of God*, and that too *a glorious Voice*; 'Twas ſuch a † *Voice* as this, that *remov'd* Aſgill *and his Mountains*, and doom'd *Coward* to the Flames; Should it kindle up ſuch another Fire in the Preſence of *that Saint*

† *See the* Reſolutions *of the* Commons, *against their Two* Books, *of the* Mortality *of the Soul, and* Tranſlation *without Death.*

whoſe

whoſe *Temple* is now happily advanc'd towards Heaven, though I will not ſay, that the *Blaze* from below would contribute as much to his *Eſtabliſhment*; as that from above did to his *Converſion*: Yet I am ſure, no good Man that paſs'd by, tho' never ſo *Lukewarm*, but would gladly *heat* himſelf at ſuch a lovely *Bonfire*.

A Decree of this Nature, would in a great Meaſure prevent that portentous Flight of Libels and Pamphlets, which has ſo long infeſted our Climate; Silence this great

In-

Infernal Oracle, and the whole Fry of leſſer Fiends, to whom he dictates, will retire to their proper Region; This is the Fury that blew the Firebrand, and gave Riſe to that Idle and Impious Attempt against *the Sacramental Teſt*, which You, our Great and Good Patriots, cruſh'd at † a Blow, with a Zeal ſo Godly, ſo Glorious, and ſo Unanimous; But that was only the Copy and a faint Repetition, this is the Original: Here let Juſtice pour out its fierceſt Indig-

† *See the* Votes, N° 32. Pag. 71.

nation,

nation, and not ſpend it ſelf in a tedious Tracing of the many crooked Branches and *Meanders*, that ſpread far and near, and diffuſe the growing Contagion, ſince the Fountain is before You, and You may expeditiouſly dam up that Source, whence all theſe *bitter Streams*, and *Waters of Strife*, are ready to iſſue forth, *and go over us.*

May it pleaſe Your Honours:

THESE Things are intirely ſubmitted to Your Wiſdom and Conduct, with that infinite Diſtance and

and Resignation, which are the just Tribute of Authority; Whoever dares insult the State, and imperiously dictate to the Justice of a Nation, let the Justice of that Nation fall thick upon the Offender; 'Tis by steddy deliberate Steps, that a Government grows 'up to Perfection: Let us bless the Happy Progress, till Mercy and Truth, Justice and Moderation, are at last so happily temper'd: that what these cannot allure with Kindness, the other may persue with Vengeance: and in the

Uni-

nion of both, we come
laſt to be as lovely and
viting, as we are alrea-
y terrible and victorious,
the Eyes of the Nations
ound about us. To this
uly *Britiſh*, and *Pro-*
ſtant Wiſh, no one
oins his Heart and his
lands, with more Fer-
ency, than

Your Honours in all

Humility Devoted,

TIMOTHY.

THE

PRÆFACE.

I Am aware, that Præfaces are just like Turn-ſtiles: Tho' they ſtand full in the Way, yet they hinder very few ople from going forward; If they do keep any, they are ſuch as ride hard and ive furiouſly, Poſt-boys and Jockies: or :h as ſtop others, and are jaded themves, Carriers, Waggoners, and ſuch kind Critics, who are for fowling the Roads d ſpoiling the Cauſway; And tho' much ght be ſaid in praiſe of Boots and Golves, where the Way is really bad: yet ere's nothing like a faithful Friend and ide, to forewarn a Man when he is on the Brink of a Bog, in what Lawn he like to meet with moſt Dirt and Water, d when 'twill be neceſſary for him to keep e Bottom Nag ſteddy, and to hold up his egs, for fear of coming his Stockins.

Mistake me not, I am not about to tr
ble the Reader *with an Account and l*
tail of my own Beauties and Perfecti
nor to tell him what Pains I have ta
therein, and how much Trouble I h
given my Friends, *in collating* Manuscri
compiling Indexes, &c, *for that were*
wheedle him to read *what follows:*
if he should happen to be that way dispo
I think fit to let him know, what h
like to meet with, and to give him a
Reasons why I wrote it: *which, perh*
will be more than he is able to give;
he reads it.

When I first luck'd upon the Book
Rights, *and had stag'd it over, I beg*
enquire the Price of Hellebore, *and w*
new Lodgings had been lately erected
Bedlam: *For, thought I, if all he say*
true, the World is certainly stark Mad
at least Crazy and Hyppish, and I lo
every day when he should commence
against us upon the Statute *of* Idiocy:
being impossible for two Systems to ap
together in Nature, that contradict
other almost in every part, but one of
must be very fantastique and ridicul
and this put me upon a Review, to find
if possible, to which of the Fools the
did really belong.

It came into my Head, that there were certainly several extraordinary Rights and Privileges, belonging to the State *of* Distraction: *and that as our* Poets, *very good judges in the Case, express it,*

There is a Pleasure sure in being Mad,
Which only Madmen know;

I consider'd how [illegible] *Dr.* [illegible] — *Mr.* Hicker — *Mr.* [illegible] — *and Mr.* [illegible] — *had been this way, and therefore* [illegible] *Examples* [illegible]

as dextrouſly, and appear to as fair an Advantage: Whereupon, I reſolv'd to give him play, and ſince Mr. Lock *has obſerv'd, that a Game at Letters is as good as* Put *and* All-fours, *I was willing to ſee, if it were not alſo altogether as diverting, as my own favourite Sports,* Span-farthing, *and* Puſh-pin.

To obviate this opinion of the Rights, *there were not wanting Arguments on the other ſide; The Book was repreſented, as the Contrivance of many Years, and many Heads: The Clergy were ſtartl'd at it, and the Church ſuppos'd to be in extream Danger; Some of her moſt forward Champions took the Alarm, ſtood forth in her Defence, and prepar'd for the Combat; Now I muſt really own, that Dr.* Hickes, *Dr.* Wotton, *Dr.* Turner, &c. *were the firſt that gave me any tolerable opinion of* the Rights: *Since were it not for their* Anſwers *to the Book, I had never thought it deſerv'd any ſerious notice; How many Years, and how many Heads have been employ'd in this Work, I know not: That many little Fools put together may make a huge One, is moſt certain: And that all* Lunacies *and other chronical Diſtempers, take up ſome time, before they gain their* Criſis, *and gather to a Head, is alſo notorious: But certainly thoſe Men think the Church*

is

is founded on a Sandy Bottom *indeed, and withal that 'tis a very feeble Fabrick, who can imagine it to be in any danger from such weak Puffs, and the Blast of every Scorner. Let the* Sexton *advance against such a one with the* Staff *of his Office, and the* Church-wardens *search him for Gunpowder: And whatever becomes of* the Windows *of the Church, I'll warrant* the Walls *will last yet many a fair* Christmas; *For the* Congregation *I am in no pain: If they can but keep their Countenances, all's safe: I don't find the Fit's very contagious, and he must have a larger Acquaintance than I can pretend to, tho' not so good, that knows of any new Converts the Book has made since it first peep'd forth from its Native Darkness: for even* the Observator *has solemnly declar'd,* Vol. 7. N. 16. That he writes in contempt of Ordinances; *But if any Proselytes appear in its Favour, they were made long before, by a much more cunning* Sophister, *to whom the Author of* the Rights *is but a Scholar and Disciple.*

This Rub being remov'd, 'tis plain the whole Dispute can be little else than Diversion: At least the only Use I intend to make of it, is to put a stop to the Effusion of Christian Ink *and* Argument: *For 'tis very hard so many learned Answerers*

should spend the Vigour of their Reason, in a Chace after Horuets and Butterflies.

Whilst I talk thus, I must beg leave to enter my Protest in the usual Form: That I am no Slave to an Hypothesis: A Lover of Truth for Truth's sake: That I judge of it impartially, search after it as narrowly as any of my Neighbours, and withal am as glad when I find it.

I heartily beg the Judicious Answerers *pardon, for taking their Fool off their Hands: I call him by that Name, because he has been very free with the better Part of Mankind, so I only take the Liberty to return him one of his lesser Compliments; Besides, the greatest End I propose in proving him such, will be, that I may enjoy him to my self.*

I wish from my Soul, that he had pitch'd upon the Councel *of* Trent, Alcoran, Synod *of* Dort, *or any other System but the Gospel to be the Subject of his Farce: For then he might have rang'd freely, and taken his Swinge of Humour and Divertisement: But here, when he goes too far in his Mirth, I feel a Reverential Awe, and Sacred Reserve, that withold me from following him too close, and where I do venture, I desire* the Reader *to take what is there said, not as my own intirely, but as the sure Consequences of his Doctrine.*

Tho'

Tho' I am a stranger to the Nature of Wit, yet I know what is its proper Province: But if it be an Accomplishment, 'tis hard it should be always confin'd to the Stage, *where 'tis notoriously corrupted: or to the Equipage of a* Modern Poet, *whose Deformity, like that of foreign Monsters, is his Livelihood.*

As the most serious Truths, and most solid Reasons, may be artfully brighten'd with this way of Writing: So wherever it has been manag'd with tolerable Spirit and Genius, tho' upon Subjects of the last Importance, it has never fail'd of Success in the most Polite Ages, and Nations of the World; Lucian, Esop, *and* Petronius; *among the Antient* Greeks *and* Romans: *Among the Moderns,* Boccaline *in* Italy, Scaron *in* France, Cervantes *and* Quevedo *in* Spain, *and here in* England, Echard *and* L'Estrange, *are all celebrated Instances of this Truth: after whose shining Footsteps I profess to follow, tho' far behind, and at a very great distance.*

'Tis easie to observe, that even the inspir'd Writings of the Holy Scriptures, *glitter with a thousand apparent Stroaks of Wit and Gaity: The many Parables, and familiar Images, which* the Godhead *it self is pleas'd to utter: The several pointed Turns, the fairy Scenes, and irresistable*

Satyr too sparkle in bright Intervals thro' the Prophets, Psalms, Proverbs, Canticles, *and* Book *of* Job: *The severe Reflections, and refin'd Raillery, so frequent in the* Apostolical Disputes *with the* Gnosticks, Sadducees, *and* Epicureans, *are all certain Proofs,* That there is Wit from above, as well as Wisdom.

Indeed, when the Impudence of Vice and Ignorance is grown flagrant and outragious, to be calm and serious, is to be negligent and unconcern'd: A soft Word breaketh the Bone, *but Brass and Iron will endure the Fire, and to master them, one must be* seven times *more poinant than ordinary. This makes the gravest and most reserv'd of Men, sometimes burst forth into Satyr and Ridicule, even in the most solemn Parts of Learning;* Latimer, Sanderson, Jewel, *and* Hooker, *upon such a tempting occasion as this, exert the sprightly remains of youthful Wit, and laugh all their Enemies to scorn, for being as dull, as they are deceitful: Even* South *smiles through his Wrinkles, and* Tillotson *forgetful of his native Sweetness and attractive Strain, when the Impertinence of Popery is pass'd Argument and grows helpless and desperate, condescends to give it the favourite Claim of* Merit, *and to use it as it deserves.*

Wit,

[illegible]

[illegible] *may* [illegible]

[illegible] *emp*[illegible], *I don't* [illegible]

[illegible]*ty'd, as well as* Muddy.

[illegible] *whatever becomes of the* General

[illegible]k, *such a Method and Style* [illegible]

[illegible]*esent Case unavoidable*; *Reparation and*

[illegible]*y, are the Strength and main Hope*

Rights: *This is the fair side of his Character*

and his most taking Accomplishment.

[illegible] *might seem foul play, to engage him*

[illegible] *other Weapons than his own*; *The*

God be thanked, is not very [illegible]

[illegible] *and Reason, and Arguments are* [illegible]

[illegible] *as a* [illegible] *of large*

[illegible] *a* [illegible] *of Skill*

[illegible] *than*

[illegible]

the Masters of real Wit, will think my Title to it a very modest one, when I pretend to no more than what will make me a fit match for my Adversary.

I give notice before hand to the devout *and* contemplative Reader, *that he is very little concern'd in this Dispute, unless by way of Diversion and Relief to his more serious Meditations. The* Author of the Rights *seems to make all his Interest among the Men of Mode and Spirit, those who, if possible, would exclude all other Elements, and make the whole World of* Mercury; *To these the solid Harangues of the Press and Pulpit, are tasteless and unsavory: They hate every thing that is not brisk and sprightly: Argument is tedious to them, and the slow, heavy, and orderly Forms of a Moral or Religious System, tiresome and slavish: Wit and Humour, Fire and Fancy, are their Favourites: They are only to be won with Turns and short Periods, and to be shot flying; As these seem deepest concern'd in the Controversie, so I shall think my self extremely happy, if I can persuade here and there some of the most hopeful of them, that they may be very good Men, without bating any of their Airs, or losing so much as one Drachm of their* Mercury; *And that 'tis easy to be a* true Christian, *without spoiling* the fine Gentleman.

I rea-

I readily grant, that Raillery is very unlawful in religious Matters, where an Author is upon the establishing Part, and whilst the System is in erecting: But I can never think it improper in Confutation, where the Adversary's Arguments really deserve it: And therefore, if any thing has slipt from me in the Run of this Dialogue, *that may seem too light and* mercurial, *Let it be consider'd, that 'tis not* the Christian Religion, the True Church, *or the* Inspir'd Scriptures, *that are there meant, But the Religion* of the Rights, his Church, *and* his Scripture: *And tho' he calls that Religion* the Christian, *and that Church* the true One, *and quotes the same Scriptures, that we do: yet he has so new modell'd 'um all, that they are intirely his own; indeed the* Testament *and* Gospels *are St.* Matthew's, *and St.* Luke's *in the* Letter, *but they are certainly his, in the* Application; *and he might as well have call'd them,* the Testament of *George Fox,* or Father *Bellarmin.*

I need not ask the Reader, what Religion he is of, for if he be of any, he must undoubtedly take my part against the Rights; *'Tis true, my Adversary trys to engage several Sects and Parties in his favour, and he sets 'um on to worry one another, that when they are well tired in the Fray, he*

may

may ſtep in with vigour and rout 'um all: like the Spaniſh Miquelets, *that halloo from the Hills to* the Regular Gentlemen, *ſee 'um throughly engag'd, and when they are out of Breath, fall on and plunder both Parties; ſuch a way of Proceeding as this, muſt certainly oblige all ſides that agree in ſome common Notions of Honour and Humanity (as all but* Banditti aud Freebooters, *do agree in ſome) to unite againſt the avow'd Enemies of both; Now as he plays the differences of the ſeveral Parties againſt each of them, I take the liberty to combat him with ſuch Arguments, as all religious Parties agree in; and theſe Arguments are certainly the ſtrongeſt, and beſt worth* the Reader's *notice: ſince they are ſuch as none of all our Differences have been able to ſhock; 'tis againſt theſe that the forlorn Reaſons of* the Rights *are embattled: and therefore, without* Trimming, *I muſt ſay, there's no Party need be ſcar'd at me, nor is there any neceſſity of being* High, *or* Low, Whig, *or* Tory, *to confute* the Rights: *'tis eaſy to find Senſe enough on any ſide for ſuch an Undertaking: and ſince my Adverſary has made an Intereſt among all the Men of* Reaſon, *therefore to make it a fair Combat, I muſt in my own defence apply to all the Men of*

Religi-

Religion, *for he is absolutely resolv'd, they shall go together no longer.*

In the Introduction *to* the Rights, *the Author's Notions lye scatter'd, and at random: so that I am forc'd to cull his Arguments, and rank 'um in a new* Order; *Then, the Periods are sometimes so short, and sometimes contain little else but obscure Hints, that I own I am often forc'd to guess at his Meaning: but upon comparing the whole System together,* the Reader *will judge whether I have wrong'd him: and if I have,* the Author *will take care to do himself Justice; I dwelt the longer on this Part, because it really contains my Adversary's primary Thoughts of Religion and Government, though under some Disguise; This is his* Creed, *the rest is but Squabble and Disputation. When I come to the* Chapters, *I follow him* Paragraph *by* Paragraph: *if the* Reader *compares one with other, he may easily see the Merits of the Performance: without that, 'tis impossible he should decide fairly between us: and if he'll undertake this unreasonable Task, I shall have good cause to believe him, truly* Candid *and* Courteous.

My Adversary has thought fit to found his whole Hypothesis *upon* Mr. *Hobb's* State of Nature, *most judiciously imagining, that it had not made sport enough already: In*

which out of revenge to Father Adam, *he supposes a certain Number of Men, to come into the World after the celebrated Method of* Cadmus, *and Sir* John Falstaff, *without Father, Mother, Gossips, or Midwife; The incomparable* Echard *has improv'd this System, and if* the Reader *does not know the Story, I must inform him that in the* famous Dialogue *against* Hobbes, *the number of these upstarts is fix'd, and Names are given them.* viz. Roger, Tumbler, Towzer, *and* Dick, *and the Scene of Action is confin'd to the Isle of* Pines; *Upon this Supposition and Hypothesis, I proceed: All the difference is, that Mr.* Hobbe's Pineards *are very quarrelsome, but those in* the Rights *very peaceable: However, both in their State of War, and State of Peace, they are merry Fellows, and well worth the* Reader's *Acquaintance.*

The Unities of Time, Place, *and* Action, *are so little minded by the Moderns, that I need not tell* the Reader *how this* Dialogue *should have been canton'd out, and distinguish'd into proper Parts and Divisions: but to avoid the Impertinence of Complements usual at parting and meeting again, I have pass'd by that formality: and leave to* the Reader's *Imagination, having fix'd the grand Scene at* Oxford, *how much he is pleas'd to allow, for the*

Con-

[illegible] and belly, had [illegible]
[illegible] large into the Pace of [illegible]
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A CATALOGUE OF

Several ingenious AUTHORS and BOOKS, quoted and referr'd to, in this Volumn: to whom I acknowledge my self highly oblig'd for the Assistance they have given me in answering, *The Rights of the Christian Church.*

THE *Rights of the Christian Church.*
The English Rogue. Compleat.
[illegible]: *Works.*

[illegible]: *Oceana.*
[illegible]: *Works.*
The Devil upon Two Sticks.

[illegible]: *History of England.*
[illegible]
[illegible]: *Travels.*
[illegible] of Denmark.
The Historical Works of R. B.

[illegible] Locke's

A Catalogue of Authors.

Lock's *Works.*
Don Quixot.
The History of Reynard *the Fox.*

The Tale of a Tub.
Bickerstaff's *Prophecies.*

Kennet *and* Hoadly.
Oxford *and* Cambridge *Jests.* Best Edit.

Kennet's *Sermons.*
—*His Panegyrick on K.* J. Bound together.

The Ballad of St. George.
Hobb's *Works.*
Valentine *and* Orson.

Stillingfleet's *Irenicum.*
Dod *of Self Condemnation.*

Magna Charta.
The 39 *Articles.*
The Canons and Rubrick.
Dictionary of Obsolete Terms.

Collection of Speeches.
Brown's *Vulgar Errors.*

Set of Rehearsals.
Volumn of Reviews.
Collection of Observators.

Pri

rincipal Superfine Cards.

ccount of Holland.
he Buccaneers of America.

Collection of Modern Cases.
ills to purge Melancholy.

istory of the Nine Worthies.
istory of the Seven Champions.
istory of the Late Times.
istory of the Reformation. Imperfect.

avenant's *Political Essays.*
latchiavil.
æsar Borgia.

pinosa.
he Works of Mr. Sam. Johnson.
Milton's *Political Works.*
Essays of Father Paul Lorrain. Collected into one Volume.

he Litany and Ten Commandments.
cts of Parliament.
Fox's *Martyrs.*

ocinus.
Bellarmin.
Andrew Marvell.
Mr. Hales *of* Eaton.

The Talmud.

Whiſton *on the Revelations.*
Burnet's *Theory.*
Quevedo's *Viſions.*

Dodwell.
Aſgill.
Coward.
Robinſon de Heteroclitis.

Modern Reports.
Weyma Cabbala.

Epitome of the Troubles of England. La
Folio.
Ovid de Triſtibus.
Lewenhoke *of Infinites.*

Grotii Opera.
Calvin.
The Man of Mode.

Malbranch.
Porphyry.
Merlin.

Wickliff.
Baxter's *Works.*
Eraſtus.
The Dutch *Fortuneteller.*

Collection of Gazets.
Volumes of Sermons.
Set of the Newest Country Dances.

Ino.
Buchardus.
Fryar Bacon.

Modern Chronicles.
Suarez's *Metaphysicks.*

Hammond's *Works.*
Whitby.
Sarjeant *of Sure-footing.*

History of the Reformation of Manners.
Plutarch's *Symposiacks.*

Homer's *Iliads.*
Dalton's *Country Justice.*

High-Church and Low-Church.
English Proverbs.
Song of the Two Cats.
Ballad of the Two Children in the Wood.

Lipsius.
Father Paul *of* Venice.
Quintus Curtius.
Plot's *Natural History.*
Argalus *and* Parthenia.

Bevis

A Catalogue of Authors.

Bevis *of* Southampton.
Lazarillo de Tormes.

Histories of the Campaigns.
Cæsar's *Commentaries.*
Conquest of Granada.
Art of Poetry.

Zwinglius.
Maldonat.
The Spanish Fryar.
Poloni Fratres.
History of the Presbyterians.
The Alcoran.
Tycho Brahe.
Copernicus.
Sanderson de Oppositis.
Roman Antiquities.

Oxford *and* Cambridge *Poems on Deaths*
Inaugurations, &c. Neatly Bound a
in a fair Letter.
Farnaby's *Rhetorick.*
Scapula's *Lexicon.*
Lily's *Grammar.*
Littleton's *Dictionary.*
Gradus ad Parnassum.

Bentley's *Works.*
Greek Vocabulary.

A Catalogue of Authors.

Lister's *Works.*
Ray *of Hogs and Butterflies.*
Art of Cookery.
Dragon of Wantley.

Burgersdicius.
Hereboord.
Crackanthorp.
Philosophical Transactions.
History of Hocus Pocus.
Art of Palmestry.

Fleta.
Bracton.
Treatise of Algebra.

Selden.
Puffendorf.
Josephus.
Almanacks of all sorts.

Wingate's *Statutes.*
———*His Arithmetick.*
Keble's *Statutes at large.*
Art of Fortification.

Art of rising to Preferment.
Aristotle's *Master-piece.* In Sheets.

Original of Government.
Æsop's *Fables.* Edit. Epsom.

Cicero

[redacted]

A CATALOGUE of AUTHORS.

Cicero in Verrem.

Art of Governing by Parties.
Green's Tu Quoque.

Epicurus.
Lucretius.
Gentleman's Calling.

Church History. Gilt Back.
Patient Grizle.

A DI

A

DIALOGUE

BETWEEN

Timothy and *Philatheus*, &c.

T. AND so, Sir, as I was telling you, I have been impos'd, injoin'd, job'd, and put out of Commons: have been Rusticated every Term, Sconc't every Carrier, and had as many Crosses upon my Name, as a Popish Saint, or the accounts of a Cargo of Bankrupts: And yet I have heard People say, there are such things as Liberty and Property, the State of Nature, Compacts, Agreements, and original Rights, and I fancy——

Introduct.

P. Fancy!——You and your Fellow Collegians ought to stand up and assert them: All Government is from the Subject, and Rulers are accountable for their Usurpations and Mismanagement: What? do they design to deal with you as with Slaves and Vassals?

T. Now blessings on your Heart, noble Dr. How long may it be to Gunpowder Treason? or can't I, d'ye think, in the mean time, and by way of Diversion, put the Head of our

Introduct. House, and my Tutor, into the Vice-chancellor's Court?

P. Hold a little, we'll take a turn towards *Wadham* Garden, and consider more of the matter——I must needs tell thee, *Tim*, I have little hopes of an *Oxonian*; but that thou seem'st to be a good forward Youth, and a Lad of Parts.

T. For that, Sir, I am as hopeful and forward as can be imagined: My Father was Chaplain to a Nobleman, my Mother has a Pew at *Salter*'s Hall, and I was born within a door or two of *Sue*'s Coffee-House.

P. Why then, *Tim*, I'll venture to trust thee with a Secret: Hast thou seen a Book call'd, *The Rights of the Christian Church?*

T. Oh, Sir! I have read it from End to End, and it stands now in my Study upon the uppermost Shelf, in company with *Cassandra*, *Burnet*'s Theory, *Sydney*'s Arcadia, *Dampier*'s Travels——Ha, *Phil!* if that same Book were but true!

P. I hope, *Tim*, You don't take it for a Romance: I'll assure you, I meant every word of it for Gospel.

T. You! Why are you the Author of that Book?

P. S'life, what have I said!——No, *Tim*, not the Author; I might Transcribe, or Collect it, or so.

T. Bless us! let me pull off your Gloves and Shoes——Han't you a Cloven Foot? How long are your Nails grown? Where did you get this *English* Vizor and Dialect? Have you been long come over, and in what Ship? A'n't you acquainted with *Psalmanaazaar?* Wha

Pagod

Pagods have you in your Pocket, and where are your *Jerusalem* Marks? Introduct.

P. I tell thee, *Tim*, I am a Christian, and a *Britain* bred and born, as thou ar't.

T. Only Spirited away when you were young, and so came over again in the *Morocco* Embassador's Train?

P. No, Impertinence! I have liv'd in *Great Britain* all my Time.

T. And was Christen'd?

P. Hum! I believe so.

T. And taught the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and Ten Commandments?

P. Pshah! I think they did put those things upon me when I was young.

T. Oh! I understand you,——What then you Translated that same Book from an *Arabian* Manuscript, to see what sport it would make, and how the Church would come off it?

P. No, *Tim*, 'tis my real Judgment, my serious Sentiments: founded on Scripture, Reason, and Antiquity: such as I'll justify and stand to, and resolve to believe to my dying day; I'm none of your Superstitious Dotards, that pore so long upon Stories and Legends, till they believe 'em Canonical.

T. What then, have I been impos'd for Noctivagation, and Rusticated for a Bastard: and are you still walking upon the *Parks*, and allow'd to be in *Commons*?

P. Prithee, *Tim.* be civil to thy Friends; I am contriving thy Liberty, and thou art angry with me for my kindness.

T. Alack-a-day, Sir! should I but offer, by way of Remonstrance, to shew your Book of Rights to my Tutor, or the Vice-chancellor,

roduct. I know not what would become of me; perhaps I ſhould be injoin'd to the Library, and forc't to put your Book into Syllogiſm, and then confute it out of *Crakanthorp*, and *Burgerſdicius*.

P. And doſt thou really think thy ſelf qualify'd for ſuch a Task?

T. Not of my ſelf, Doctor, by no means, but only, as I told you, by the help of *Crakanthorp* and *Burgerſdicius*; and if you will but throw me inn *Hereboord* and *Euſtathius*, (for my Pretenſions lie not a whit higher) I don't much care if I try a little.

P. You may ſpare your Pains: for I ſhan't ſtay to hear your learned Gibberiſh, and artificial Cant, made up of obſcure, doubtful, and undefin'd words, with which thou art ſtuff'd and larded by Lecturers and Pedants, to promote Ignorance and Superſtition, and keep thee from large Thoughts, and the freedom of Reaſon.

T. Stay a little, *Phil*, I am verily perſuaded, that *Actio* and *Paſſio*, are not altogether ſo neceſſary as the *two Sacraments*: And I fancy Peace may be reſtor'd in Chriſtendom, altho' *Ubi* and *Quando* ſhould never be admitted into the noble Society of the *Predicaments*; There are very few Queſtions in Logick, but what you may hold which way you pleaſe, and I'll give you two or three dozen of Diſtinctions to bear you out in't; for theſe are but Nuts and Apples, to keep the young Cub's Claws in uſe, till *Meum* and *Tuum*, and Matters of greater Conſequence, ſhall come to be ſcrambled for.

P. Now

P. Now thou talk'ſt like a Man, *Tim:* Now I have freſh hopes of thee. Introduct.

T. Sir, I am ready ſo ſoon as ever a Decree comes out againſt *Genus* and *Species*, to pack up for *London*, and bind my ſelf Prentice to a Glaſs-maker, with a Proviſo in the Indentures, that I ſhall have every Day a Diſh of *Ideas* for Dinner, a Meſs of *Modes* for ſecond Courſe, and *Reflection* conſtantly for Supper; and if I can but now and then prevail with my Miſtreſs in private for a ſlice of *Senſation*, I don't queſtion thriving, and may perhaps come to be Commiſſioner of Trade and Plantations.

P. Oh brave *Tim!* now I find thou haſt a large Soul indeed, and of the neweſt Cut and Faſhion.

T. Alas, Sir! I have been [a] long ſince convinc'd, that the Soul is the Dreſs and Habit of a Man; ſo I always conſult the Weather, what Suit to put on: whether I am to wear the Leather Girdle with Drawers, or only Drugget, and go open Breaſted. In the Spring belike, or towards *April*, I may clap on a pair of *vegetative* Breeches, a *ſenſative* Doublet, and a *rational Surtout:* But when the Weather grows warmer, *Senſation* and *Reflection* may ſerve the turn as well: 'till towards Winter again, I put the *Judgment* on the outſide, the *Will* next me, and ſo carry *the under Appetites* in my Trowzes: For it matters not into how many Garments the Soul is divided, ſince the [b] whole Eſſence thereof may be caſily cramm'd into the Fob or Breeches Pocket.

[a] Vide *Tale of a Tub.*

[b] Totum in qualibet parte.

P. I thought, *Tim*, I ſhould bring thee into Tune: Now I don't queſtion but to make

Introduct. Musick of thee; and thou wilt never require any of those pedantick Rules of me, but be judg'd by pure Argument and Reason at large?

T. Here's my Hand on't; if at any time you have a mind to play at *Predicaments*, chuse your number, nine or ten, (as it is in the case of Kettlepins) and for the rest, we'll be try'd by the People, and the Parish shall Poll for't. And now flourish!

P. Once upon a time, before Men had chosen the Constable, or appointed who should be their Parents: e'er Bill, Bond, and Indenture were found out: when all Mankind agreed to come into the World together, and to have their Arms and Legs measur'd, their Guts Gaug'd, and their Brains Fathom'd and to be found exactly like: E'er they had toss'd up Heads, or told Noses, to prevent their being bloody, and to stay Fisticuffs and Quarterstaff.

T. Prithee, *Phil*, what time was this?

P. What time?

T. Ay; the Year and Day of the Month?

P. 'Twas the first Day of the Universe, Trifler!

T. Very well: But was not that same Day divided into Morning and Evening, Hours and Minutes? For I'll suppose some of the Men might set out by break of Day, others might stay till towards *Ten*, and the rest that were nearer, might not be dress'd till Dinner time.

P. I tell thee, *Tim*, they lay together, rose together, walk'd together, met together, and agreed together.

T. A

T. And all this before Compacts and Agreements were invented? Introduct.

P. Lookye, *Tim*, I'm for a peaceable state of Nature: I'm none of *Hobb*'s Disciples—— I say they agreed—but before they agreed—

T. Oh, I understand you now; you are for a Family of *Cadmuses* and *Come-by-chances*: but just as *Tumbler* and *Towzer* are going to Loggerheads, in step you and part 'em. And do you really think to make as good sport by parting the *Pineards*, as Mr. *Hobbs* did by setting them together by the Ears?

P. No matter for that: However, you will allow there was such a State.

T. Any thing to please you: I'll suppose an *Utopia*, a World in the Moon, *Amazonia*, *Falstaff*'s Buckram Men, or a Commonwealth of Cats: provided you'll be sententious and witty upon't; but be sure you draw a huge Line between Fable and Moral, that Folks may know 'em asunder.

P. There's no need of that, *Tim*, for I take the whole account to be Matter of Fact and Demonstration, an universal and unquestionable Truth, and the very Foundation of all Society, Government, and Religion.

T. Nay, then I perceive you have more Faith than I thought you had; but since you grow unlucky with your childish Tricks, and are for knocking Folks on the Knuckles with your Rattle, and breaking Windows with your Hobbyhorse, 'tis time to take your Play-things from you; and therefore I desire all People to be advis'd, and be very cautious of parting with their Money, when they have any: and not only so, but also that they hold [illegible]

Introduct. their Pocket Handkerchiefs, and Tobacco-Boxes: Sure I am, and I ſpeak it by woful experience, when I have truſted any of theſe Goods into the Hands of a *German* Artiſt, or ſome ſuch great Undertaker, being induc'd thereunto by earneſt intreaty with an engagement upon Honour to have um reſtor'd ſafe and ſound again: I have been afterwards ſo lamentably concern'd, to ſee the poor Creatures toſs'd and tumbl'd about, and ſuch ſtrange things put upon 'em, that I could hardly be perſuaded to own 'em again; and withal, you can't think what a difficult matter it was to make me blow my Noſe, or wipe my Face in one of 'em, unleſs I had good Security given me againſt Padlocks and Puppy-ſnatches: or to get me to fill a Pipe after Dinner, without a mortal apprehenſion of Gunpowder. Now the like advice holds good, where a Man has a *Poſtulatum* or Suppoſition in his keeping, which he may chuſe whether he will part with or no, and upon what Conditions: And if he will by no means let it go, no body ought to take it amiſs, or be angry at the Matter; For I happen'd the other Day into Company with a Gentleman at *Garaway*'s, an Author it ſeems, and one that had ſuffer'd very much for the Cauſe, who civilly requeſting me, juſt as you do, to grant him, *that all Men were born alike*, it being a ſmall Suppoſition I had at that time about me: To which I readily aſſented, as thinking no harm in the leaſt, only that it might perhaps encourage the next Football Match, or the two Univerſities: When, would you think it, ſo ſoon as ever he had laid hold on't, away he rides, and plays the

ſtrangeſt

h Frenks wher in ever [illegible] heard [illegible]
hoot any first or Licence or Leave first
Under my Hand for so doing, he made
e of the Cream of Tartary, [illegible] Mo-
Fryer Prim. than of so many Snipes
oodcocks, but down'd with 'em all in
He routed the *Jansenists*, and *Samel-*
French Gentlemen; and for Land-
and Dukes, the Archest of 'em all could
d in's way; and I think for the Whore
Ro, he maul'd her with a Pox to her;
y Lord Mayor himself (God bless him)
his Constables, could hardly be at
for him; Alack-a-day! cry'd I, what
come of me? shortly, I shall be call'd
the *Old Bayly* for Misprision of Trea-
if I should chance to lose my self, a
ation perhaps may come forth, with
d to those that can find me: Now
re no Malice in my Heart, nor any
mings contrary to the Statute of *Lab.*
e I think fit to Remonstrate by way
er, "To all Popes, Signiors, Czars,
rors, Landgraves, Margraves, Bor-
s, and Voywodes, and to all Parlia-
s, Diviners, Mayors, Constables, and
e of Common — — That what I
[illegible] without any [illegible]
[illegible] that we have [illegible]
[illegible] —— [illegible]

Introduct. "Suppositions, as also to issue out our R. Proclamation, strictly charging all Lords Lieutenants, Sheriffs, Justices, Serjeants, Bailiffs, and Tythingmen, to make diligent search after, and apprehend the Supposition aforesaid: And also upon Information, that there was a design laid to convey him beyond Sea, either to *Switzerland* or *Geneva*, we have taken care that all Passes be stopt, and that none of our Loving Subjects do presume to Harbour or Entertain him upon any pretence whatsoever: And that pursuant to the said Order, he has been apprehended, and is now in Custody of the Serjeant at Arms, with an especial Order, that he let none of his Friends come near him, and that he be not suffer'd to go abroad, particularly not on Sundays, without special Directions from us, unless now and then on a Thanksgiving-Day, or when there is very urgent occasion for a Poll or a Land-Tax; and so we pray God to have you in his holy keeping.

P. Thou hast talkt, *Tim*, at that rate, as if I were oblig'd to thee for acknowledging Truth; whereas I'd have thee to know, I scorn thy little Grants and Allowances, I'll prove and demonstrate——

T. What that *two* were made before *one*? that the three first Fellows that appear'd in Nature, were *Jeffery*, *James*, and *Jack*? Can you demonstrate, who was the Inventor of Awls? Or does *Euclid* say any thing of the Foundation of *Bridewell*, or undertake to tell, who was first Lord-Mayor or Common Serjeant?

meant? Is all this *Story*, or a Problem in the Mathematicks?

P. A Story no doubt on't.

T. Well, and this Story you had brought you in a Packet from *Pines*; or did any of these ſame Buckram Men write their own Lives, and have you read 'em in the Original? Or do you know any of *Towzer*'s Family, and have they got it by Tradition?

P. Thou undertak'ſt, *Tim*, to ask me a company of impertinent Queſtions, as if thou hadſt me under the *Ferula*; I think it better becomes thee to anſwer: And I wou'd fain know of thee, didſt thou ever make an enquiry into the beginning of this ſame World we live in?

T. Why really, Sir, I found it ready made to my Hand, ſo I ne'er ſtood to examine the matter, but fell to enjoying it as faſt and as innocently as I could; however in time, ſome of my Neighbours took up the Trade of making Worlds: The Apothecary and Maſon fancy'd they had Tools enough for the Work: the Squire whip'd out his Snuff-box, and ſwore bloodily in behalf of Atoms: So, Sir, I had a main mind to be meddling, and I went and got the beſt intelligence I could how the Old one was made: For, thought I, if I can make another by that, 'twill be better worth than Five Hundred a Year.

P. Well, and where did you meet with your Intelligence, and of what ſort was it?

T. Why, Sir, I went to our Parſon: and he told me that he knew very well the worthy Perſon that made the World; that he was his eſpecial Friend, and ſhew'd me a Deputation under

Introduct. under his Hand; that as for all other Worlds, except the great huge one in *Heylin*, they were Juggles and Cheats, but the true one was made by his Master: And he did give notice to all the Tenants of his ancient Demesnes, that they should beware of Counterfeits, being that no body understood the Trade of World-making so well, or had so good a set of Atoms as he had: And if they would give credit to his Deputy, (meaning himself) and also allow him (meaning him the said Parson) a small Quota, one Tenth as I remember, in this same present World, he had another in *Petto*, that was intirely at their Service.

P. Hah! hah! hah! A High-flyer, I warrant him: Well, but I hope you didn't believe one word he said?

T. Let me alone for that, Sir; never fear little *Tim*; I'faith I gave him as good as he brought; You may be sure I would not stick at a good Bargain: so, Sir, I ask'd his Security, and thereupon we came to a Reference; for you must know, the oldest Almanack-maker in the Country, and the first that we heard of who brought Writing and Reading into the Parish, undertook to stand by him, and to tell all the Passages; he said there was but one Man made first, and one Woman, and he told me their Names too, and where they liv'd; and these two got a third, a fourth, and a fifth, and the third fourth and fifth went on getting by sixes and sevens, and so they begot one another to the end of the Chapter; And by this same crafty and ingenious Contrivance, you, and I, the Parson and all, were cunningly inveigl'd into Nature.

P. An

n old Dotard! had you no more Sense, hearken to him? Introduct.

'hy, you must know, *Phil*, I fancy'd y self, that these same Fathers and Mo- ind getting of Children, might be the and Inventions of Gossips and Mid- and I did not question, but for good roper Men to drop from a Cloud, or it of a Furrow, was the cheaper way. the midst of the Debate, comes a Per- was really by at the making of the , and more than that, had a hand in, generously confirm'd all that old *Pen-* had said: and as a cast of his Sk..l, [illegible] we found in the [illegible] and the we had done [illegible]

Introduct. the Story was in Print, allowed of by Authority, and could plead the Statute in that Case made and provided; but for a Man to go about to turn Father *Adam* out of the World, as well as out of *Eden*, when he had left such a memorable Legacy to his Family; or to compare him with *Tumbler* and *Towzer*, a Crew of *Mushrooms* and *Buckram Men*; to quarrel with those above for making Man by Retail, and yet at the same time to undertake the Trade by Wholesale: to believe *Malmsbury* to be as old as Mount *Sinai*, or that *Falstaff* and *Hobbs* were before *Dathan* and *Abiram*; to caution the Parish against Credulity and Puppetshews; and yet expect they should believe all this: And to suppose it too, to take it for granted, and as universally receiv'd and allow'd of, without so much as one Proof, not an Inch of Demonstration, not a fragment of History, or the least formidable Diagram to scare Infidels, is what *Hobbs* himself would never have done: nay, I should have still believ'd him younger than General *Moses*, tho' he had squar'd the Circle: And upon such pretty fancies as these, to make a Book of *Five Shillings*, which one would not be hired for *Ten* to assent to, was Bawdy, Blasphemy, Witchcraft, Necromancy, Tantivy, High-flying, and I know not how much beside, and so he pray'd me to tell you.

P. And suppose, *Tim*, I should take the Sot's advice, and part with my state of Nature: thou would'st be in a lamentable condition, *Tim*, and horribly at a loss what to do for another: Thou dost not deny, I suppose, that there is such a State: Prithee what's thy

Notion

Notion of it? A very odd one to be ſure; and when is it that a Man enters upon that State, and when does he begin to leave it? Introduct.

T. I'll tell you, *Phil:* I hold it, that a Lad may be in the State of Nature, tho' he has never had a Round at Fiſticuffs: nay, tho' he has faithfully fulfill'd his Contracts touching Giggs and Cherryſtones, and moſt religiouſly obſerv'd all the Laws and Ordinances of Nine-holes and Span-farthing; and for all that I know, he may be ſtill in that State, tho' he has paſs'd his A, B, C, and is advanc'd as far as *Qui*, *Quæ*, *Quod*, nay, tho' he be in the very Bowels of *Propria que Maribus:* But when once *Geneſis*, *Exodus*, and the reſt of 'em, come to Town, he throws away the ſtate of Nature, his Bib, and his Apron together.

P. I thought *Tim*, the ſtate of Nature had been more extenſive; thou forget'ſt thy fellow Animals; prithee how long does their ſtate of Nature laſt? What doſt thou think of my Dog *Tray?*

T. Why, Sir, I can ſuppoſe honeſt *Tray* to be in the State you mention, tho' he ever now and then reach a Steak off the Dreſſer, or make Love to the next pritty Bitch of evil Converſation, that plies upon the Parks; but when once, *Phil*, you have taught *Tray* to *Hey over* for the Queen, to ſnarl at the Pope, romp upon the Maids backs, ſet Partridges, or ſpin Roaſtmeat, I ſhould do *Tray* no ſmall diſpleaſure, to believe him any longer in the ſtate of Nature.

P. Ah! *Tim*, if thou didſt but know the Reaſons I have for ſuppoſing my ſtate of Nature, thou

Introduct. thou would'ſt hug it again, and not let it go under a very good Price.

T I hold a Pot and a Cake, I give a ſhrewd gueſs at 'em: for I ſuppoſe you began betimes, and took to free thinking and large living at the firſt ſtart; and ſo the old Folks, who had no Notion of your Rights, fell to perſecuting you for robbing Orchards, and pulling Geeſe, and us'd you betimes to the Laſh and Frame of the Table, and other ſuch dreadful Executions: till you elop'd from their Clutches, and ſet up a new way of coming into the World, for the good of Poſterity.

P. And haſt thou not, *Tim*, a Mortal averſion to that domeſtick Tyranny of Parents?

T. Ay, Sir, but how can I help it? the Cracks have been on the old ones ſide, ever ſince Muſhroom Men ceas'd, and getting of Children came to be in Faſhion.

P. No matter for that; Cuſtom and Antiquity give no force to Truth: Haſt thou any Reaſon for't, *Tim*, or did thy Parents ever give thee any?

T. Alack-a-day, Doctor, with us the better ſort of People breed their Eldeſt Sons Squires, and the reſt to Shops, Colleges, Inns of Court, or the Army; and for the ordinary Folks Children, they are commonly ſuffer'd to run till they take to eating, and then they turn out to Service; But as for Reaſon, why 'tis enough they provide Portions and a Livelihood for us: for the other, we may get it if we can for our ſelves, if not, we ſhall ſhift as well as our Elder Brothers.

P. You

P. You mistake me, *Tim:* I ask, what Reasons, what Arguments any of your Parents give you for that vile Subjection they require from their Children. Introduct.

T. Why, in the celebrated case of *green Gooseberries*, Sirrah, says Dad——

P. Hold, *Tim:* when I talk of Subjection from Children to Parents, I do not mean such Children as are under Age, and not yet come to the full Use of their Reason, or such as live at home in the Family, where the Father, as Master, has a right of Government; or where there is an Estate in view: but I'm speaking of full grown Men, who are freed by the Exercise of their Reason, who are set up for themselves, and have their Pensions in their own Pockets.

T. Now you fly flattering. [illegible] the Case in parcels, for you would expect Reason from a Child [illegible] clean from the Use of Nurses and [illegible] fore, if [illegible] or [illegible] or [illegible] and Mamma [illegible] [illegible] there are [illegible] Sense and [illegible] Sense [illegible] and [illegible] at the [illegible] *Tim* [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Introduct. *P.* I profess, *Tim*, thou hast been too nimble for me: I was arguing, that the Use of Reason frees the Child from all paternal Authority: and you prove by Custom, that the use of Reason renders him more a Subject: I hope, *Tim*, thou't give some better Argument for it than common Practice:

T. Sir, I always give place to my Betters: the notion of Subjection is ours, we have been in Possession long enough of all Conscience: Now prove your Title.

P. Before I do that, *Tim*, 'twill be necessary to premise, that I do allow Parents many and great Advantages, and with which I think they ought to rest contented: I grant 'um Honour, Respect, Gratitude, and if need be, Support and Maintenance.

T. Oh, Sir, in our Country we honour all Men, respect our Elders, are grateful to our Benefactors, tho' not in the least of kin to us: and once a Year we make a *Rate* for all those that come to the Parish; so that they are very little oblig'd to you, unless you enlarge your Favours: Can you afford no more?

P. Not an Ace.

T. No Obedience?

P. Not a Tittle.

T. Then I find 'twill never be a Bargain— but now the Reasons.

P. In the first place, *Tim*, every Child has that only innate Principle of loving himself best: So that as long as Self is Self, he must be free to dispose of his own Actions, and consequently exempt from all Paternal Authority.

T. Alas

T. Alas the while! to see how a Man may live and learn! here now have I been doating these ten Years, and imagining with my self, that Selfishness was certainly as bad as Arsnick, and that Dame Nature was a good civil generous Gentlewoman, and kept no such Drugs about her: And besides that, I went and I fancy'd with my self, that one might really have a very great affection for one's Self, and yet for all that, not be very free as to some actions: nay, love one's self so deadly much, as for that very reason to refrain some things that I could name to you: and then besides, and notwithstanding all this, it should not follow so very fast as you would have it, but that one might *ask Blessing*, or so, even upon any other Morning besides *New-years-tide* and *Mid-lent-Sunday*. Introduct.

P. So that you are of opinion, *Tim*, that every one of the Propositions I have advanc'd, is notoriously false.

T. If you please, Sir, we'll examine 'um apart———Self-Love, say you, is the only innate Principle: What, and have you no more respect for your Philosopher Mr. *Lock*, after you had gone and talk'd so much of his improving Human Understanding, and letting Light into the World, now to come and say, that the very first and most distinguishing Principle of his Book was a notorious Untruth? and that all his fine stories of the *Hautmantots* and Children in the Wood, were a pack of Shams and Forgeries, and that you could prove it? tho' I think you do not, as resolving to shew your Mercy amidst your Valour; Is this your way of commending Folk? Could you

Introduct. Mony: neither will the strongest Arguments pay *Tipstaff*'s Fees: Nay, I have been confin'd to the Library, and yet never the nearer my Enlargement, tho' there lay very good Reasons for Liberty, and *Cicero* open upon the Desk; but doubtless, a Man must be a Man of Parts to get Children; tho' after all, if the old one should come to doat, and the young ungracious Rogue of a Son, should beg his Dad for the Estate, or should wheedle him out of a Settlement: yet in some Folks Eyes, Father would be Father still, unless the Son could get [a] *Æson*'s Kettle, and boil him till he's young and tender again, and then indeed he might plead a right to his Father's Marrow-bones.

[a] *See the Story in* Littleton.

P. Thou art a fine Child, *Tim*: and hast given thy Father as much Authority over thee, as if he had really been thy Maker.

T. Not in the least *Phil*, I'd have the main of the matter belong to the Maker, and the rest to them that found [b] *Stuff*. He that made Man, *Phil*, will I believe, upon enquiry, be found to be the same Person that made Lands, Tenements, and ready Mony: and yet all this shall never hinder me from having a mighty respect for any honest Gentleman, tho' never so much a Stranger, who shall be pleas'd to bestow on me two or three Hundred a Year, or a few Bank Bills, and from being in a very extraordinary manner, his humble Servant.

[b] *See* Oxford *and* Cambridge *Jests*, Edit. Lond.

P. Now, *Tim*, I hope thou hast talk'd thy self out of Breath: I have let thee run on, to see how industriously thou would'st hamper and entangle thy self: Now will I, on purpose to punish thee, drop my Cause, and for once,

I'll ſuppoſe, doſt hear *Tim*, I'll only ſuppoſe it, that Children are by Nature ſubject to their Parents: but then, *Tim*, thou muſt anſwer for all the Abſurdities, that follow from ſuch an unreaſonable Suppoſition. Introduct.

T. Stand by me *Crackanthorp*, and I'll venture one Fling however.

P. In the firſt place then, if this Doctrine be admitted for true, all Government but Paternal is unlawful: and conſequently, no other Authority, except only that of Parents, ought to be obey'd.

T. Look ye, *Phil*, a Child can never be ſubject to more Powers than one, with all thoſe pretty Trangams about it *ſecundum Idem*, *ad Idem*, &c. but bate me the ſmalleſt of thoſe Proviſo's, and I'll warrant you, we do the trick: for can you ſuppoſe, that a young Fellow ſhould take it ill, to be had before a Juſtice for Sheep-ſtealing, for belike his Father is Tything-Man, and ſo ſubject to the ſame Juriſdiction? And if it could have been admitted as a Plea againſt the new preſſing Act, that the Lad ſhould have been at home at Plow, at the ſame time that he was requir'd to attend the Duke of *Marlborough* in *Flanders*, I cannot readily ſee how we ſhould have come off at *Ramelly*; You have forgot your Friend *Hobb*'s Diſtinction, that a Man may be a Man for himſelf, or a Man for ſome body elſe: and in ſhort, *Phil*, you diſparage us and our Wives, eſpecially the Breeders, for they bring more at a Birth than you imagine: and at the ſame time that they give the Father a chopping Son, there is alſo an Inhabitant for the Parſh, a Tenant for the Lord, a Free-

Introduct. holder for the County, a Christian for the Church, and a Subject for the Queen.

P. But all this while, *Tim*, you don't consider, that if a Father be Lord over his Children, when either of those Children comes of Age, he can possess nothing in his own right, nor have any Authority over his own Children, who like the Children of Slaves, must follow the Fate of their Parents.

T. Why, all this may be true, *Phil*, and yet some Truths are best conceal'd, for had I been in your place, I could not have said that now, without horrible apprehensions of a Contradiction: for if you please to look back a little, and you need not look far, 'tis somewhat above this same doughty Objection, at *pag.* 5. upon the left Hand, there you are pleas'd to say, that no Father can have more Subjects than he begets himself: how then his Sons Children should come to be his Subjects, I cannot readily conceive: unless he beget Children by Proxy, which indeed is many an honest Man's Case. All the while, the deadly force of that Kill-cow Argument is never to be forgotten: that if the Father has a Dominion over the Son in right of Parentage, yet the Son, when he comes to have the same Right, shall not have the same Dominion: that is, if four and two make six, yet two and four shall never attain to that Sum.

P. Thou art as impertinent in thy Mistakes, as unreasonable in thy Censures: I tell thee, and prithee attend closely, if a Father has an absolute despotick Power of Life, Body, and Goods, over his Son, how then can the Son have any over his Children, since the Father by

by virtue of that Power, may take them from him, and dispose of 'um as he pleases? Introduct.

T. Now the Murder's out——I find you have been talking all this while of an absolute, despotick, tyrannical, usurping Power.

P. Ay, Stupidity! hast thou not found that till now?

T. What! and is this the mighty Secret you have been so long in labour with? Is this the noble generous Atchievement? Are these your Fundamental Rights and Properties? Pray which of all your Predecessors in Politicks ever offer'd to say, that a Father by an Inherent Right of Nature, might take his Child and carbonado him, and broyl him for his Breakfast: or might pickle a Leg or so, according as he long'd for't? Did you ever hear *Justinian* quoted to prove, that where a Child had made use of his Limbs to get a Penny in an honest way, or had gone and made the old one a Grandfather, that in such cases the Father had a good Title to the Neat Produce? Certainly, *Phil*, the great *Don* of *Muncha* rous'd your Spirits most furiously, or you had never been so sharp set upon Combat: could you not have staid till the Windmill had been up, or at least the Wind fair, e're you couch'd your Lance, buckl'd on your Helmet, and prepar'd for the Rencounter?

P. Look ye, *Tim*, when once I have given a Man Power over me, tho' I do not design him an absolute one, yet what security have I, that he will not make it so? may he not abuse his Power?

T. And may you not abuse your Liberty, especially, when 'tis more absolute than the other's

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Introduct. not have modeſtly ſaid, that every thing naturally ſeeks or inclines to its own good, and then have ſtuff'd a dozen or two of *Latin* and *Greek* Quotations into the Margin, that the Reader might have aſſented at ſight, and beſides that, have admir'd your great Parts and Reading? but for you to go and ſay that 'tis an innate Principle, for us to love our ſelves beſt, when 'tis well known, a great Perſon, who knows more of Nature than you do, has civilly requeſted us to love other Folks as well; and then to ſpeak ſo diſreſpectfully of Nature, as to make Selfiſhneſs the very firſt of her Principles, whereas every Body knows, Nature ſcorns your words, and is no ſuch Creature as you would make her; if ſhe has been a little deficient to you, there's no neceſſity of your affronting her: for you muſt mean the abuſe upon Nature in general, becauſe had you only given us an account of your own particular Nature, and how narrow and ſelfiſh that is, we could eaſily have directed you, where to lay out your Affections upon a much better bargain.

P. I do pronounce thee, *Tim*, to be the moſt impudent of all thy Tribe.

T. I thank you, Sir: I hope by that and ſome other exemplary Endowments, to match your Worſhip to a nicety——In the next place, ſay you, as long as Self is Self, the Child muſt be free to diſpoſe of his own Actions. And do you really think, that Selfiſhneſs may be pleaded in bar to a Text of Scripture, tho' 'twill never paſs before a Judge of *Niſi prius*, in an Action of *Trover*, nor yet at the Crown Bar, in a Caſe of *Petty Larceny?* And then, muſt

muſt it needs follow, think you, that becauſe the Child has ſettled his Affections on himſelf, therefore his Actions are turn'd looſe to the wide World? whereas in our Country, the freeſt Actors are look'd upon to be the greateſt Enemies to themſelves: I'm ſure I've heard my Tutor ſay ſo forty times at leaſt: Or if all this be granted, and that the Child is free to diſpoſe of his own Actions: will you therefore conclude from hence, that he is exempt from all paternal Authority? you may, if you pleaſe, ſo conclude: but then take your Concluſion to your ſelf, and much good may it do you: and ſince Concluſions are free, as well as Actions, let your Friend *Tim* have his Concluſion too: And he is, with ſubmiſſion and right humbly, of opinion, that if the Child be free to diſpoſe of his own Actions, he may very eaſily diſpoſe of 'em to his Father, and I could tell him he has good Reaſon ſo to do: but no matter for that, for if both your premiſſes happen to be falſe, what in the name of Nonſence will become of the Concluſion? Have you any more Reaſons?

P. I take it for granted, *Tim*, that the Uſe of Reaſon makes the Father a Freeman: and therefore, when the Child comes to the Uſe of his Reaſon, he ought to be as free as his Father.

T. Sauce for a Gooſe is Sauce for a Gander, that's certain: and indeed it cannot but tickle the young Rogue, to think that his Father can demand no more of him, than what he himſelf muſt pay to his Grandfather; but then I can hardly believe, that Reaſon, the beſt that can be devis'd, is altogether as good to ſatisfy a Baily as ready

Introduct. against Tyranny, least the two next Justices of the Peace, hearing of his extraordinary Perfections, should think him qualify'd to go against the *French* King.

P. Now you mention Monsieur, prithee what dost think of him? has he any Authority over *Philip* the fifth? they are both Kings of Independent Kingdoms: Does Parentage make *Philip* a Subject of *France?*

T. I have consider'd that Matter thoroughly, *Phil*, and because I find it quoted over and over again, sometimes positively, and then again with a pert Catch-up, and by-way of Question: therefore I do intend, God willing, and with your good leave, to answer it as warily and carefully as I can: which I shall do in these following Propositions. 1st, I hold and maintain, and advise you and Cardinal *Portocarero* to hold the same, that *Charles* the third, and not *Philip* the fifth, is King of *Spain:* for his Title's not a bit the worse, notwithstanding the Business of *Almanza*. 2dly, I answer and say, that a Father may settle an Estate upon his Son, and renounce his own Title, provided he ever had any, for that alters the Case much, and so may chuck him under the Chin, spit in his Mouth, and bid him shift for himself. 3dly, I venture to assert, that if *Lewis* the Great, over *Philip* the Little, has a Power so far forth, as to take away his Pennies and Pinboxes, to bid him what Sports he shall follow, how far he shall ramble, and who shall be his Play-fellows: then I am horribly afraid, that it will follow in spite of you, that there is some small Authority and Power between *Lewis* and *Philip*, and I leave you

you to discover on which side it lies. 4thly, I conceive, and am of Opinion, that one main design of this present War, is to restore Monsieur *Lewis*, and the *Dauphin* (for I must tell you, he also is concern'd in the matter) to that Power and Jurisdiction, they might justly claim over *Philip*, and to bring him back to the Nursery at *Versailles*, tho' neither you, nor he, nor yet the old ones, have Grace enough to discern it. 5thly and lastly, I am bold to affirm, that an exception in point of Practice to a Rule in Policy, can never utterly and entirely defeat that Rule, whereupon the [a] Poet well observes, Introduct.

[a] *Robinson tract. de Heteroclit. Ed. Op.*

——— *Sic Cornu flexile Cornum:*
At Lucanus ait, Cornu tibi cura sinistri.

P. Well, *Tim*, I find nothing will down with thee: Now 'tis time to hear thy Reasons for proof of the positive, that Parents have a natural Right of Authority over their Children.

T. Look ye, *Phil*, the Reasons I intend to use, are not properly my own, neither indeed would I own 'um under a very great Sum, for I design to borrow 'um all of you.

P. Of me! I believe thou may'st look long enough among my Rights, before thou wilt find any Reasons there for Paternal Authority.

T. Nay, I won't tell you how long I lookt, but there I found 'um: not that I ever intend to convert any Body with them, I'll assure you: for all this is betwixt you and me, and no body else shall have a bit of't. But first I must know,

Introduct. find a Sugar Plumb in't, the favours the greater.

P. Nay, *Tim*, if you mean no more than common Gratitude, one may be oblig'd as well to a Nurse, a Foster-father, or a School-dame.

T. Most certainly——If I'm to honour him that begot my Body, and the more I love that same Body of mine (as some People take a mighty Affection that way) still the Obligation's the stronger: yet all this does not hinder, but I may very highly esteem the Person that gave me Suck: Nay, I may have a good conscionable regard for the Parson's Maid, who pick'd me up in the Church-Porch: and for all that, be tolerably civil to the Overseers that bred me, notwithstanding they were paid by the Parish; and after the very same manner, a Man may pay his Shoe-maker, Taylor, and Milk-woman, tho' their Scores be very different, and all out of the same Sum.

P. A pretty story thou hast told here, *Tim*!

T. Oh, Sir, I have another behind every whit as pretty——The business of Subjection has been ever allow'd of, and bore the Fame these five thousand Years, which is by [a] Lawful and just Computation, four thousand nine hundred and eighty Years beyond the Statute of Limitations; It has been always believ'd, that a Man ought first to part with his Senses, before he think to get rid of Obedience, and must contrive it so as to run Mad, e'er he undertake to be Unnatural; And accordingly, we find the Patriarchs (who certainly understood getting of Children as well as you, or any of the

[a] Vide *Wingate's Arithm.* Item Vers. Lat. per Wells.

the Moderns) lording it over their Families: Introduct.
some they made Shepherds, some their Game-keepers, and the rest stood Watch and Ward, and bore out the old ones in all challenges to Cricket and Quarterstaff; they undertook to curse and to bless, to settle and to disinherit as they pleas'd: and exercis'd more rights of Dominion, than the hopeful'st of our Lads would away with: for sometimes they would make bold with the Windpipe: nay, and it came to that pass with some of 'um, that they made nothing to bake and stew their Children without Pepper or Salt: and to invite such of their Gods, whose Company they best lik'd, to the Entertainment; this gave rise to those natural Apprehensions all our little ones have of *Raw-head* and *Bloody-bones*: and I must needs tell you, I should not have lik'd it my self, but should have took to my Heels at first sound of the Stew-pan: and besides that, have had a mortal aversion to minc'd Meat ever after.

P. I heartily believe thee, honest *Tim.*

T. Now matters standing thus, I went and I ponder'd with my self, whether all this might not amount to an original Right; Dame Nature had, I found, been always reputed a Lady of Constancy (notwithstanding her Sex) and one that held her own: I turn'd the Notion upside down, and look'd narrowly for the Marks: It shew'd worn and batter'd, and appear'd plainly to be of her Ladyship's Household-stuff by the Usage, and in all likelihood too, had been a very old Stander: Hang it! thought I, I'll not be singular, I'll e'en turn inn with my Neighbours: it serv'd my Betters before me,

Introduct. and I have no reason to grumble; So I was tolerably well satisfy'd in the Point, till I looking upon your Rights, in that accurate Paragraph, *pag.* 26, touching the supreme Power of the Mob, there I find, you are pleas'd to lay it down as a Rule, *that the Subject cannot well be mistaken in the Rights of Nature:* Now, think I, if the Rights of Nature are so very plain in ones way, that 'tis difficult to miss 'um: and that the Subject cannot well be mistaken in 'um: (the Term (*well*) signifying in that place something less than the Double Somerset or Ladder-Dance) and if this same Notion be agreed to, not only by the *Cham* of *Tartary*'s Subjects, and those of *Bantam*, but by Subjects and Sovereigns, Jockeys and Gentiles, Cuckolds and Christians, all the World over, and all the World long, I'm sure we have gain'd the Point: for if great Fish eat up little Fish, O naughty great Fish! but if great Mob vote with litle Mob, O jolly great Mob! there's an end of the Question, for we are within Ams Ace of Infallibility——

P. Go on, and prosper, *Tim*: the Road's before thee, and I'll be sure to give thee Line enough: I know very well when to bring thee back with a *Circumvendibus*.

T. However, that I may make the best use of my Time, if you please to remember *pag.* 4, speaking there of Children, you are most graciously pleas'd to allow that they have another Maker besides their Parents: and I do assure you, I take it as an extraordinary favour; Now I am strangely inclin'd to believe, that this very same Person, who made the Child, had also a hand in the Parents: and

and altho' you make no mention thereof, yet I believe it will be found among the Rights of Nature, that every Man has an undoubted Title to dispose of his own proper Work and Manufacture, provided the Calling be honest, and such as he serv'd to by the Statute, as also that the Materials be his own; Now if you are really positive, that the Maker has given out express [a] Orders, *that no Child shall obey his Parents in any thing:* and you are sure, that this is a true Copy of the Register, and that there is no Fault in the Translation: then indeed you may turn the Boy loose, and bid him take his own course; but for you to go and pretend to dispose of a Minor, when the Major had otherwise appointed, you might as well have sold him to the Gypsies, or Kidnap't him into *Newfoundland*.

Introduct.

[a] Eph. 6. 1. *Note, this is to be understood of such as are come to the use of their reason.*

P. Now dost thou think, *Tim*, thou hast made a noble discovery, and I'll warrant plum'st and rejoicest within thee, as if thou hadst discover'd that same *Newfoundland*.

T. I must own, *Phil*, I was in a terrible quandary till the business was over: for what, thought I, if somebody should prevent me: I do assure you, I fancy'd you your self were near it at *pag.* 6, and I was afraid would have been before me: for there you fall to supposing: *if*, say you, *People owe the same Duty to their Parents since, as they did before political Government was erected*, (provided you are sure there ever was such a time, for the *Chaldeans* say, theirs is older than the Moon) then you conclude, *the Power of a Father over his Children was always the same*; Now if you had not stopt here, as one would think

Introduct. a Man of large Reasoning would have crawl'd a step or two further, and had said thus with your self, by way of Assumption: if the Power of Parents was always the same, since Parents are to be obey'd by their Children in all things, now Religion is in fashion: then 'tis plain, they had also the same Power in the State of Nature; and so, you would have made an utter end of me, and have seiz'd all the Glory of the discovery to your self.

P. Now, *Tim*, will I take thee down in thy Wedding-Shooes: for I'll suppose, a Father has by Nature a Right of Dominion over his Son: and that this Right of course belong'd to the first Man: but certainly it ceas'd with him, and never descended to any of his Posterity, for 'tis a personal Right, and cannot be dispos'd of by Gift or Will.

T. And so paternal Power vanish'd with Father *Adam*, because with him ceas'd the noble Art of getting Children.

P. Always mistaken: I tell thee, *Tim*, that Power, which the first of a Family, according to your Hypothesis, may claim over that Family, tho' consisting of many younger Families, yet all subject to the first Branch: that Power is Personal, and must cease with the first Incumbent.

T. And may he not dispose of it, because 'tis Personal? Now my Law-Books tell me, that he may dispose of it, and that because 'tis personal: but that which is entail'd he must by no means meddle with: and my Gospel-Book tells me, that the Parties concern'd did actually dispose of it; Besides, did you never see the *Arbor Porphyriana*, and Tree of Con-

ſanguinity? you'll find there how matters ſtand: ſo that if the *Genus Summum* ſhould never make any Will or Deed of Conveyance, yet upon his going off, 'tis eaſie to ſee who's next Taker: unleſs you are very ſure, that Burrough *Engliſh* was part of the Law of Nature, or that *Cain* held his Lands in *Nod* by the Cuſtom of *Gavelkind*. Introduct.

P. I allow thee *Tim*, a Father may diſpoſe of his perſonal Eſtate, but not of his Power: for that is like his Wiſdom or his Piety, not to be given away to another: ſo that ſuppoſe he had during his own Life erected his Family into a Kingdom, yet after his Death——

T. Oh! are you there with your Bears! now I begin to find what you would be at: you are horribly afraid Families in time ſhould come to be Kingdoms, Which however may happen, provided they Chriſten apace; And pray, when it does come to paſs, why may not he that is Head of the Family, be alſo Head of the Kingdom? I do aſſure you, there is matter of fact againſt you, for the Patriarchs, whoſe Families were large enough to People one of our modern Market Towns, and increas'd in a greater Proportion, did really take upon 'um to be Governours, Kings, Princes, Dukes and Generals, and to diſpoſe of things accordingly: they led out their men to battle, they detach'd Colonies and made Plantations, and more than that, diſpos'd of the Government by Will, which you know is *Philip* the firſt's Title, and that you have already acknowledg'd: but where no Will was, there was Birth-right, or Right of Inheritance, which

Introduct. lity: Now I would fain know, how 'tis possible to elect, unless where there are Candidates: By which we mean certain eminent Persons, especially qualify'd for the Trust the Electors design to repose in 'um; But what right has *Roger*, for instance, to stand Candidate, rather than *Tumbler:* or *Towzer* rather than *Dick?* Can he say he has better Parts, or understands more of the Matter than *Dick?* So that here must be an Inequality even before the Election: And then to maintain your State of Equality in its full Perfection, either all must be Candidates, and so no Votes: Or, else they must all Vote for one another: in both which Cases, there can be no Election: and so, Gentlemen, as you were! for we are never a whit the forwarder.

P. Thou art certainly the most captious Creature living: The right of Candidates is so very inconsiderable, I wonder you could insist on it: Then it gives no Power till after the Election———

T. However, it puts 'um in a fair way for Pow'r, and you can't deny but it makes an Inequality: Now I'm for preserving the Rights of Nature as inviolate as may be; besides, how do I know but the Election may be partial and manag'd with Injustice: For *Roger* may have his Portion in good natural Land, and *Towzer* may have his in ready Rino: So that tho' *Roger* may keep the best Drink, yet *Towzer* may be able to bribe highest: And tho' *Tumbler* may have the deepest Judgment, and so best deserve the Place, yet *Dick* may have the nimblest Tongue, and so wheedle most Votes.

P. Questi-

Introduct.

Questionless every Man by Nature may
: the best use he can of those Faculties
h Nature has bestow'd on him.

Right; and then it may so happen that
and *Towzer* may both be Candidates,
Tumbler may Vote for *Roger*, and *Dick* for
er: So that here is still an equality, and
re where we were; and the Case is the
, if you should double your *Buckram* Men
st as did *Falstaff:* If you make an odd
ber, there's an end of your State even be-
the Election: And then, perhaps, that
ne may be a Candidate, so that in these
, your *Pineards* may e'en break up Court,
o home again like Fools as they came, or
hey must draw and fight for't.

Here hast thou done that which thou wilt
t of all thy Life after: Thou do'st not
my State of Nature, and thou art sensible
e necessity there is to quit this State:
, prithee, what other way canst thou
to do it by? Thou dost not know of
believe worth mentioning?

Alas-a-day, how should I? han't you
and said, that there is no other way but
s? And then to come and challenge me to
another ——Why all this upon a Friend,
——However, because I do verily be-
you had not throughly examin'd all the
s, nor made the best Enquiries you cou'd;
u please I'll try a little; And suppose
uld say, that the best Method your
rooms can take for quitting the State of
re, is to toss at a Peg-jack, or draw Cuts
e Kingdom: I cannot see, but this is a
way than your Election: 'Tis plain,
here

Introduct. here can be no Bribery nor Injustice: and t every Man has his chance, and so your S of Equality is better provided for: and ye last there must be a Decision, and the Busi come to an issue.

P. And what would'st thou make of this, *Tim?*

T. Not much: only that if the *Pine* have agreed, that the nearest Quoit, or lon Cut should take all, and that this should b them and their Posterity: for upon the incr of that Posterity, supposing the Person e to live to a good tolerable Age (as I don't k but a *Buckram* Patriarch might hold ou long as *Methusalem*) it would be mighty convenient to draw cuts again, and by time Nurses and Midwives, and such kin Hereticks might have spoil'd the Primitiv quality of Nature, so that some forward lows would of course pretend to more t their Neighbours: And you'll be very h put to't to shew that this was not the Ag ment: then as to your deposing Doctrine, are as utterly crack'd as ever was *Pitkin*.

P. We shall soon see that: For do but s pose these *Pineards* to be Men of common Se and then let us try, whether the most Ab dities follow my System or thine, and ac dingly we shall find which is the most lik to be true.

T. With all my Heart —— Now I wo fain know, *Phil*, how it comes to pass, the Laws and Pow'rs of our first Govern come to bind their Posterity, without an e cial Condition for that purpose: I hope, y be no kinder to *Tumbler* and *Towzer*

you were to Father *Adam*: Their Pow'rs are as much personal as his were: I am sure the Votes are personal, that give 'um those Pow'rs. Introduct.

P. Observe, *Tim*, all Laws owe their Authority to the present Government, and the Subjects tacitly consenting to that Government by their being willing to be protected by it, till they declare the contrary: and 'tis this makes a Traveller a Subject to every Nation he passes thro, whether *Holland* or *Rome*, a Monarchy or a Republick.

T. Yet for all that, I can go to *Rome* and not be a Papist, and lye a Night at the *Hague*, and yet abhor a Commonwealth: 'Tis not my travelling thro' any Country that makes me a compleat Subject to all the Laws of that Country, but only subject to the Laws of Nature and Nations, some of which are to be found every where: And these do say, that if Foreigners take my Money, I may reasonably demand Meat, Drink, Washing and Lodging for't, and take gaping and staring into the Bargain: And that if I meet People of another Language, there's no reason they should devour me, tho' they make a shift to let me know they han't din'd; if Protection only made a Subject, I see not why our Merchants at *Archangel* might not swear Allegiance to the *Czar*, and the Army in *Flanders* abjure Monarchy; Neither do I believe tacit consent, or a bare resting satisfy'd in the Government will amount to a free Vote; When the first Magistrate was chosen, my Ancestors were not only at liberty to chuse or reject whom they thought fit, but to stand themselves and make the best Interest they could. Now if it be so as you say

Introduct. say, why does not the House of Commons meet upon every demise of the Crown, and so pass an express Vote (for the Matter's too important to be decided tacitly) that they are well enough contented the next Heir should take, and all Matters at *Westminster*, and in the Country, should go on as they did before, till they shall declare the contrary? 'Twould be necessary also, that at least every St. *George's* Day, we should tell Noses and Poll the Kingdom, the *Interregnum* being first publish'd in Form, and notice given of the Day: For as all Elections ought to be free, so I can assure you, there are several of our good Neighbours that are for more Governours and Governments than one, and have declar'd it more ways than *tacitly*.

P. And art thou such an *Ignoramus*, *Tim*, as not to know, that the Consent of the People is always ask'd at Coronations, where all may be present if they please?

T. Very true, *Phil*, But then suppose a good Party of the Mob should deny their Consent, and testifie the same by holding up their Cudgels, or should propose one of their own Members from *Wapping* or *Whitechapel*, do you really think the Archbishop would call for Poll-books hereupon, and appoint Tellers? Or, suppose I should march in manfully at Coronation-Dinner, and there take up Squire *Dymmock's* Gauntlet, and defie him to mortal Combat: Seeing the said Squire and Champion is also a Justice of the Peace, I am horribly afraid he would answer me by the way of *Mittimus*, and instead of a Tilt in *Smithfield*, I should be fairly left to fight it out by my

the *Old Baily*. Now take my Sy- Introduct.
, and then there is all the Reason in
for the Subject to rest satisfy'd in
succession, and to be contented that
his Heirs should have it: For we
scended from *Towzer*, had our chance
e Kingdom, and if that had hit, we
e taken it very ill in any of the *Pine-*
have broken the original Contract:
fore for us to rebel against *Roger*, is
hing, as if we should go about to
horteſt Cut to be the longeſt, or the
be the fartheſt off: which is down-
ating the first Principles of Nature,
Mathematicks.

a sorely afraid, *Tim*, that allowing
n, thou wilt intrust *Roger* with more
an any of the *Pineards* were capable
him, and more than ever they had
elves.

it's to be try'd: However, supposing
e the Man, I do design to intrust him
at deal more than you are pleas'd to
or Instance, if *Tumbler* has made bold
er's Sheep, or if *Towzer* has with-
e grey Mare from *Dick*: In such ca-
shall have a Power by my Law, of
Towzer and *Tumbler* to the Cart or
g-post; Whereas with you, *Roger*
no Power of Life and Limb, but
he Purse; So that if *Dick* commit
or Treason, he has nothing to do but
Poverty, and the Court may fairly
him, when he has sworn himself off
g to the Statute.

P. Don't

Introduct. *P.* Don't cog and shuffle now: Where did I ever say so, or in what Company?

T. I'll tell you presently —— In the 10th *Page*, at the Tiptop of the *Page*, there you say, *none of 'um* (meaning Governments and Magistrates) *could have any more Pow'r than the People were capable of trusting them with:* And then at *Number* 14 (which I wish for your sake had been omitted) there you say, *that Men* (by which I suppose you mean the People) *have no Power over their own Lives and Limbs:* And then I'm sure they could not trust the Magistrate with that Power, because, as you observe, they had it not themselves: So that if you except Life and Limbs, Goods and Chattels, and the other Apurtenances may be all briefly comprehended in the term (*Purse*); before you answer this I cannot chuse but take notice of that noble Proposition, which follows close after, and upon which you found all Government, *which*, say you, *is deriv'd from the Power Men have over one another*, and that must needs be very great, because you have plac'd 'um in a perfect State of Equality.

P. Thou Malapert! May not I actually have a Power over another, and yet he be allowed to have the same over me?

T. Who doubts it? And so *Towzer* may command *Tumbler* to draw him a Bucket of Water: And *Tumbler* may reply, and bid *Towzer* — do it himself — Sirrah! — says one — Sirrah! says t'other —— And I am as good as you! — And I am as good as you! — Now where will all this end, but in Fisticuffs? And then you know, neither of 'um must

must have the better of't, because of the Equality of Nature. Introduct.

P. Do but consider, *Tim*, upon what I found this mutual Power, and that will give thee the best Idea of it.

T. Indeed I had almost forgot that——*The Power*, say you, I have over another, *is founded on the inherent Right of preserving my self, and preferring my own good:* Now if you will but let my Neighbour, as in Justice you ought, have the same Foundation of his Power too, that is, the preferring of his own good to mine: and then let but his good and my good come in competition, which sometimes you can't prevent, and unless you'll give us a small matter of Inequality, the rising Ground, or a chance Blow, so that I may drub him, or he me, there can be no end of the Controversie.

P. Suppose, *Tim*, a Man in the State of Nature does me an Injury, may not I punish him?

T. No: for he'll say perhaps, 'tis not an Injury: and then by whom will you be try'd? and what Law? there's neither one made, nor t'other chosen: and besides, he'll return upon you, that he is free to dispose of his own Actions as he pleases, and perhaps 'tis for his own good, which he is to prefer to yours.

P. True: but he's not so free as thereby to injure another.

T. But perhaps his Stomach requires it: for *Towzer* may have Gam'd and Wench'd away his Estate, and so forc'd to borrow Mutton from *Dick*'s Sheepfold, or be conducted by the force of Nature to *Tumbler*'s Henroost:

Introduct. and then he may plead from your Rights, that by Nature he is to subsist as conveniently as he can, and do all that's necessary thereto: Besides, how can *Tumbler* punish him? Nature has Match'd 'um, and Inch'd 'um, and so they can never fight it out.

P. Then he ought to call inn his Neighbours, who are by Nature oblig'd to assist him.

T. Ay, but then say you, *no Man is oblig'd to assist another in the preservation of his Life, Liberty, Limbs, or Goods, at the hazard of his own:* So that if *Towzer* won't part with his Game without a bloody Nose, or threaten *Dick* to tear his Throat out, if he offer to meddle: then *Dick* must sheer off, and leave *Towzer* in possession of his Prize. In short, *Phil*, your State of Nature leaves the *Pineards* so very little to dispose of to their new Magistrate, and is so very narrow and scanty, that it can never be the effect of free Thinking and Reason at large: and therefore you had very good reason afterwards to widen it, and to say

* Pag. 11. ' *that not only whole Nations with respect to one another, but in some Cases all Mankind are still in such a state:* and so they may be for all that I know, tho' if they are, I would advise 'um to get out of it as fast as ever they can.

P. I see plainly, *Tim*, nothing will content thee: therefore I would be glad to know, with how much Power thou art willing *Roger* should be intrusted.

T. Before I do that, Sir, I shall only take notice, at what a wretched pass of uncertainty you leave all things, by saying that when the Danger's

Danger's great, and the Magiſtrate not at hand, the People may riſe and right themſelves: whereas you ſhould have ſet down poſitively, how many Miles off the Conſtable ſhould have been permitted to ſtir, and how near you would have Juſtices of the Peace live to each other: for we would by all means ſpare the People in theſe matters, and not put their Worſhips to too much Charge and Trouble, and thereby ſtrictly preſerve one of the fundamental [a] Maxims of Nature. Introduct.

P. They are indeed much oblig'd to you: I hope in ſetting out *Roger*'s Power, you won't give away too many of their Rights.

T. Look ye, *Phil*, I'll give him no more, than what he may juſtly claim from your *Rights*: for if you remember, I promis'd to ſupply him wholly from thence.

P. I ſhould as ſoon expect to ſee Popery prov'd from my 10th *Chapter*, as abſolute Monarchy from my *Introduction*.

T. All in good time, *Phil*: In the firſt place then, you do in at leaſt thirty *Pages* in your *Rights*; allow the Magiſtrate a Power of Life and Limb: Now this Power, 'tis plain, he could never have from the People, becauſe they never had it for themſelves: And therefore *Roger* can never be accountable to the *Pineards* for this Power (which let me tell you is the beſt Feather in his Cap too) becauſe he had it not from them.

P. But however, the People are concern'd in this Power.

T. Yes, and very narrowly too, and I'd have 'em look to themſelves —— In the next place, you do not deny, that the Power of puniſhing

[a] Non debet fieri per plura quod poteſt fieri per pauciora.

Introduct. injuries belongs to the Sovereign: and in order to punish, he must have also a Power to Judge: Now this Power he could never have from the People, for they in the State of Nature were wholly independent, their Actions and their Reasons free: And if *Towzer* undertook to censure *Dick*, *Dick* might give him the Lye, and *Towzer* might return it: So that here is another absolute Power *Roger* has got, and for which he is not accountable to the *Pineards*.

P. Now, *Tim*, thou hast certainly overshot thy self: for tho' *Towzer* has no Power to Judge *Dick*, yet he has a Power to Judge himself, and *Dick* has a Power to Judge himself, and so have the rest of the *Pineards*, and each in his Person may give this Power to *Roger*, who then may Judge 'um all.

T. True: But then *Roger*'s Government will arise from the Power Men have in the State of Nature over themselves, whereas you have already settled it *upon the Power they have over one another*, *pag.* 10. In the next place, *the Magistrate*, say you, *has a Power to assist People in the recovery of their Rights, and in order thereto, to use Force, to raise the Posse and Recruits, and to press Men to aid and assist, who are to venture their Lives and Fortunes*, (else what signifie Addresses:) And these Assistants are certainly to be paid for all this out of the publick Stock: Now since in your State of Nature, no one was oblig'd to assist another at his own Peril, or to dispose of that Other's Goods or Chattels, therefore here is another absolute Power of raising Armies, and levying Taxes, for which *Roger* is beholden

beholden to you, and for which you may call Introduc[illegible] him to an account if you please, but for the rest of the *Pineards*, they have nothing to do with it.

P. Thou't make a rare Fellow of *Roger* by and by, *Tim.*

T. By no means, you shall have the doing of't, and all the Credit to your self —— *The Magistrate*, say you, *has a Power of bestowing Rewards and Gratuities to those who shall deserve 'um:* Now if *Dick* has done any thing in defence of *Pines*, 'tis hard that *Roger* should be oblig'd to pay him out of his own Estate; since *Tumbler* and *Towzer* are both concern'd in the Benefit; And if *Roger* has a right to the End, viz. the Rewarding others, he must have a Right to the Means, (that is) Mony and Victuals, all which must arise out of the other *Pineards* share in the Kingdom: For the clearing of this, see the Case of *Mortmain*, *pag.* 22; Now this being a Right neither of the *Pineards* could have over his Neighbours in the State of Nature, therefore *Roger* is again your humble Servant, and you have now given him twice as much Power, as ever *King Adam* requested at your Hands.

P. I give him? if he has no more than what I intended him, I'll assure you [illegible] oblig'd to me.

T. There I believe you [illegible] you have me guess at your [illegible] may be a *Jesuit* or a *Mag*[illegible] Heart, for all that I know [illegible] verily believe you have some [illegible] ples, else how come you to [illegible]

Introduct. *pag.* the ſecond, *that all Government is from God?*

P. I do not ſay ſo, abſolutely and immediately, but that it comes from God by the Mediation of the People.

T. How ſhould it come otherwiſe? Did you ever hear talk of a perſonal appearance in the State of Nature?

P. Not that I remember.

T. Why then, all that comes from above, muſt come by the mediation of Mouths and Tongues, and they ought to be rational ones, if 'tis deſign'd we ſhould hearken to 'um, and then of courſe they muſt belong to ſome Body or another of the People; ſo that tho' they handed the Commiſſion to *Roger*, yet if they deliver'd their Meſſage fairly, they muſt needs let him know, that it came ſomewhere elſe.

P. Thou tak'ſt me wrong, *Tim*, I mean no more, than that God did permit the *Pineards* to elect *Roger*.

T. And why then might you not as well have deriv'd Thumbſtalls, Apple-ſauce, Pincuſhions, Fiddleſtrings, and Furbelows from the ſame Original? Nay, Murder and Adultery: for there's as much permiſſion on their ſide too.

P. But obſerve, when I ſay God did permit, I mean, ſo permit, as to approve.

T. What! and were the *Pineards* ſent down in an amicable ſhower, to do what they would in the Iſland, and would their Friends above ſtand by 'um, and bear 'um out in't?

P. Not ſo neither: but would'ſt thou have had a Divine Commiſſion given to *Roger* at his

his first coming to *Pines*, to govern the Island: is that reasonable, *Tim?* Introduct

T. It may, or it may not, 'tis indifferent in *Tim*'s Opinion; however, to humour you, I had much rather he should have his Commission from the *Pineards*, immediately, just as you say, so you will but allow it came higher: For tho' *Roger* might produce such a Commission, yet perhaps the *Pineards* might question the Hand, or require Evidence, or suspect *Roger* of Forgery; whereas if every one of 'um, upon their first Landing out of the Clouds, should dive into their Pockets, and there find a Divine Writ or *Præcipe* for the electing of *Roger*, or any other of the company (for I have as much kindness for the other three) this I take it would be much the fairest way.

P. Still the *Pineards* might reserve a Power of calling *Roger* to an account, after they had elected him.

T. Why so? Have you seen the Indentures that pass'd between *Roger* and the *Pineards?* and did you find that Condition in 'um? I am sure you say, they could not call one another to account in the State of Nature, because their Actions were free and at their own disposal: And certainly if they could not call *Roger* to an account when he was their equal, they can much less do it now he's got above 'um a little, and is become their Superior. Besides, don't you say, that his Commission does in the last place come from a Court above? To which therefore must be the last resort; Moreover, if the matter of *Roger*'s Commission be to be guess'd at (for you do

Introduct. not pretend to have ſeen it) then will I venture my Verdict, and I'll ſay, 'tis probable that *Roger*'s Commiſſion empower'd him to do Juſtice according to the Law of Nature or Reaſon, and according to the reveal'd Law, if that ſhould happen out in his time: both which Laws are from the Court above, and therefore ſtill *Roger* is only accountable there: for that being the Legiſlative Pow'r, Juriſdiction by your own Rule muſt be entirely dependent thereupon.

P. But in this Caſe, what Proviſion haſt thou made for the Succeſſion?

T. Why here the *Pineards* have elected by Divine Writ, which you know is returnable into the Court from whence it iſſu'd, and they return *Roger:* ſo that thither they muſt ſummon him, if they have ought to object againſt him: In the mean time, Inheritance or Birth-right being part of the Law of Nature, *Roger*'s Heirs muſt take upon the Demiſe, until freſh Writs iſſue from the ſame Court in order to a new Election, for we are both agreed, that there's no living long in the State of Nature.

P. Thou talk'ſt, *Tim*, of *Roger*'s anſwering in the Court above for his Male adminiſtration, can'ſt thou give me a Precedent of ſuch a Tryal?

T. O, a Thouſand! for I'll aſſure you, *Roger*'s Succeſſors all the World over, excepting the preſent Incumbents, have anſwer'd in the Court already: and I'll tell you the way of Proceeding: there's neither Plantiff, Jury, nor Evidence, and yet every one has the fairest Tryal imaginable, for he conſents to his own

Seu-

Sentence; And for my part, I can't ſee how you came to boggle at the Matter: For your *Saints* in 41, were ſo throughly convinc'd of the Magiſtrates having his Commiſſion from God, tho' by their Mediation, that they always reſorted for Advice above, and conſulted the Lord, e'er they preſum'd to diſpoſe of his Vicegerent. Introduct.

P. I care not for Precedents, I am for Reaſon and demonſtration.

T. Ay! But are not you a rare Man? What have you gone and done here? For my part, I am utterly againſt all abſolute uncontrolable Pow'r, for I do know ſome things, that the moſt abſolute Pow'r of 'um all ought not to meddle with: and here have you made *Roger* as much a Tyrant as his Heart could wiſh; Did I not tell you that you were a *Jeſuit*, or a *Muggletonian*, and that ſo ſoon as ever I found you miſchievouſly inclin'd, I'd withdraw the Grant? And I do hereby give you notice, that I will no longer allow of *Cadmus* and his *Muſhroom* Men: I ſink the Iſle of *Pines* downright, and diſſolve the Enchantment: For it is my Will and Pleaſure, that your State of Nature ſhould be diſſolv'd, and it is hereby diſſolv'd accordingly; and more than that, I ſhall ſet a Mark upon you, and be very cautious how I truſt you with a Suppoſition for the future.

P. I'll be ſworn, *Tim*, thou art the moſt impudent, perverſe, ſawcy, impertinent *Skip-jack* in Chriſtendom.

T. I care not for that—for what ſays [a] *Eliphaz* the *Temanite?*—And tho' he miſapply'd it once, you are reſolv'd his Rallery ſhan't [a] Job. 15.

Introduct. be intirely loſt——*Should a wiſe man utter vain knowledge, and fill his belly with the eaſt-wind?* ——*Should he reaſon with unprofitable talk? or with ſpeeches wherewith he can do no good? yea, thou caſteſt off fear, and reſtraineſt* [a] *modeſty before God.*——*For thy mouth uttereth thine iniquity, and thou chooſeſt the tongue of the crafty. Thy own mouth condemneth thee, and not I: yea, thine own lips teſtifie againſt thee.*——*Art thou the firſt man that was born? or waſt thou made before the hills?*——*Haſt thou heard the ſecret of God? or doſt thou reſtrain wiſdom to thy ſelf?*——*What knoweſt thou, that we know not? what underſtandeſt thou which is not in us? with us are both the grey-headed and very aged men, much elder than thy father.*——*Are the conſolations of God ſmall with thee? is there any ſecret thing with thee? why doth thine heart carry thee away? and what do thine eyes wink at?*——*That thou turneſt thy ſpirit againſt God, and letteſt ſuch words go out of thy mouth?*

[a] Vid. Heb. & Chal. ver.

P. Thou haſt got the knack, I ſee, *Tim*, of calling Names out of Scripture——But do thou take thy turn now, I have propos'd my Origin of Government, which I find won't be allow'd of: Let's ſee ſome of thy Inventions, *Tim*,—I hope thou wilt not ſay, Government is owing to Conqueſt?

T. If I do, will you juſtifie me in't?

P. Oh, by all means: for there's certainly a World of Merit, in deſtroying a Country, burning of Towns, and uſing the Inhabitants barbarouſly.

T. And yet, perhaps, they'll think, there's more Merit in inviting 'um all to a Barrel of Ale,

Ale, and remitting 'um half a Years Rent; but ſuppoſe half a dozen Men ſhould come in the Harveſt time, when the Inhabitants are abroad, and fairly take their Town, and without plundering or burning, or any ſuch Matter, ſhould get right of Poſſeſſion——Would not this do? Introduct.

P. In ſuch a Caſe they muſt apply to the Lord of the Manor, the Sheriff and Conſtable, and if they can't protect 'um, they are in a State of Nature, and free to diſpoſe of themſelves: and thus we ſee frontier Towns change Governours more than once in a Campaign.

T. But then, notwithſtanding this change, there are ſome ſhrew'd Fellows, apt to ſay, that the old one is Governour ſtill: tho' you, I find, are for the Conqueror, and yet Conqueſt makes no Title.

P. I ſhall never get thee, *Tim*, to think cloſely: Obſerve now, 'tis not the Conqueſt that gives him his Title, but the Election of the People, who became free to diſpoſe of themſelves, by their old Governour's being unable to protect them.

T. I thought, *Phil*, the wideſt and largeſt Thoughts would have pleas'd you beſt——— Well, but now let me think as cloſe as ever I can———If once theſe Men are out of the Protection of their old Governour, yet they can never be in a State of Nature, and free to diſpoſe of themſelves.

P. Why ſo?

T. I'll tell you, by way of Inſtance: and I'll inſtance in the City of *Liſle*, as beſieg'd by Prince *Eugene*: their old Governour, the Mar-

Introduct. *Dick Cromwell* to protect this Nation, that brought in King *Charles* II, as the Unwillingness of the People to be protected any longer by him; so that the People must protect their Governour, if they design he should protect them: according to that known and friendly Axiom, *One good turn deserves another*; And thus we have the right of Conquest most fundamentally decided: for if an Invader comes into a Country with a lesser Army than that Country is able to produce, then that Country, and their Governour (unless 'tis made up of Cowards) should endeavour to protect themselves: But if he has brought a Majority with him, or has made a Majority, by contriving some ways and means to lessen the other side, or to bring 'um over to his own, by producing forty brave Fellows to their fifteen, or by knocking down some of the most inflexible Sticklers of the other Party, or cutting here and there a good quantity of Throats, that would probably Vote against the Invasion: or by other powerful and substantial Arguments, tending very strongly to persuade and inveigle the Freeholders against the next Election: Then 'tis plain, the People have lost all Right, for the Majority of a Society is, say you, *pag.* 6, *The Force of a Society, and they who will not chime in and follow that, do in effect cut themselves off, and forfeit all right of Protection.*

P. We shall never have done wrangling, *Tim:* I would fain bring thee to matter of Fact: search Histories, Annals, and Records: 'Tis evident from them, that all those Nations, of whose Origin we have any account (the

(the *Jews* themſelves not excepted) fram'd themſelves into Bodies Politick by the conſent of the Parties concern'd: And 'tis as certain that the Alterations, which from time to time have been made in Government, were all ordered the ſame way. Introduct.

T. I profeſs, *Phil*, you have taken a great deal of buſineſs on your hands: for ſince *Adam*, there have been a huge company of States and Nations ſettled in the World, beſides *Utopia* and *Barn*'s Polity of Pigmies: and then again, there have been I can't tell how many Alterations made, and are daily making: Now have you by you a particular Hiſtory of all theſe? and have you perus'd 'um faithfully, and find it juſt as you ſay? for let me tell you, if I do but catch any one State, that gives a contrary account of it ſelf: may hap I ſhall have the Impudence to ſay, This is in the Right, and all the reſt is but general Corruption.

P. I have ſaid it, *Tim*, and I won't recant: I have found none, but what roſe this way.

T. You have found none! Is that all? nay, then there may be ſome hopes of informing you —— As for the *Jews*, I'll have nothing to ſay to them now, for I find you deſer their Cauſe to the Afternoon, and I'll engage to attend within Call —— In the mean time, let me caſt about —— *Europe*! *Aſia*! *Africa*! *America*! I profeſs, there's room enough —— I'll begin if you pleaſe, with *Darius* the *Perſian*: of whom it is ſtory'd, that he and the reſt of the *Perſian* Nobility, being at a loſs for a King, agreed among themſelves, without ever asking the Peoples leave, upon a certain Morning

Introduct. ing just as the Sun rose, to turn each his Ass loose, and the first that bray'd, his Master should be King: And by a bawdy trick *Darius* got it; so that in this case, the Ass proclaim'd, and not the People: And 'tis to be noted, that at that very Season, *Persia* was in a State of Nature: So that every one of the People, at least all who held Asses (which for ought I know, might in that Country answer to forty Shillings a Year) should have put in for the Kingdom, and the frolick have gone round: and then no doubt the *Policies* would have run high on the Broom-men and Pedlars, against any other Order of the Nation.

P. Hast thou any more Instances, *Tim?*

T. The second shall be *Sancha Pancha*, who for his singular Wisdom and Cunning, and number of his Proverbs, obtain'd the Government, tho' an utter Stranger in the Island.

P. Any more?

T. There's *William the Conqueror*, he and his Men came over, without ever asking leave, and beat the *English* full sore against their wills: and to let 'um know, that he held by the Sword, 'tis in the *Chronicle*, that he created an *Earl* by the same Tenure: and yet I could never learn, that 'twas complain'd of in *Parliament* as a breach of Privilege.

P. Go on, *Tim*, go on.

T. Then you have heard of *Claudius*, I suppose, (there is an ancient *Icon* of his Face, N° 16, at the *Cat and Fiddle* in *Drury Lane*) it seems there was an *Interregnum*, and he was afraid, poor Man, of being plundered (that being usually one of the first Acts and Deeds of your Governors, the People) and so he

he hid himself: but however, some stroling Redcoats happen'd to light on him, and dragging him out by the Heels, they e'en made him their Head, without ever staying for the Votes of their Neighbours: tho' the Story says, the *Roman* Empire was at that time tolerably large too. Introduct.

P. Well said!——On and prosper, *Tim!*

T. Oh, Sir, you may take 'um in Couples ——There's *Semiramis*, she that invented the Horse-pox: mine Author says, that she desir'd of her Husband a day or two to govern in: and when she had got the Power, she whipt on the Breeches, and set up for herself.—But for the *Queen* of *Scots*——

P. Which of 'um, *Tim?*

T. She that our *Lady Betty* droll'd upon so very archly——at nine Months end she was fairly brought to Bed of three Kingdoms: and the young one, when he came to Age, as fairly own'd 'um.

P. O rare *Tim!* thou art the flower of Historians.

T. The *Pope*, for his part, claims by St. *Peter*, and by Legacy from *Constantine*, (just as your *King Philip* does) and that People mayn't mistake him, he gives *Infallibility* for his *Mark*: However, a Will's a good Title in *Chancery*: but for *old Nell*, he might have pleaded Royal Blood, for he had washed his Hands in't: or the Will of the People, for they could not help themselves; but he was resolv'd to swagger in spight of 'um, and therefore he fairly sent their Representatives packing, for offering to seek the *Lord*, when he had ingross'd him to himself: and in a *Fleet*

Introduct. too, where he was ſeldom known to keep his Reſidence.

P. Haſt thou done yet?

T. Then for his Succeſſors, (for I paſs by the *Squire*) the *Saints*, the *Godlings*, the *Meek*, the *precious Ones:* Lord! I ſhall never forget 'um! They, poor Souls, never deſired the prophane Votes, and wicked Applauſe of the vile, malignant, unregenerate World: They were elected another way: By the Light within, as by a farthing Candle, they found their way to the Throne: and the Kingdom of Heaven being come in them, they only made bold to take the Kingdoms of the Earth along with it, becauſe they had been ſeldom known to go aſunder.

P. Well ſaid, *Tim!* Agen! agen! agen!

T. Now here was the Kingdom of Light; but *Richard* the *Third*'s Title was certainly by that of darkneſs: He got into the Government, juſt as the Bunch did into his Back, by way of Excreſcence and Superfetation.

P. Once more, little *Tim!*

T. Oh, Sir! there's that ungrateful Gentleman *Alexander the Great*, who gave away the World in his Will, without ſo much as mentioning poor Me, who ſuffer'd ſo much for him at *Wincheſter:* He ne'er ſtood upon Title, when once he had got the *Oracle* on his ſide, but whenever folks complain'd of his riding over their Corn, and hunting in their Grounds: he e'en ſwore it off handſomly by *Jupiter Ammon.* ——— Now let *Alexander* for all this be as great as he will, yet there is a greater than he behind, and he ſprings another Title: for whatever you may ſay of conſent, yet he ventures

tures to give forth. [a] *I have made the Earth, the Man and the Beast that are upon the Ground, by my great Power, and by my outstretched Arm, and have given it unto whom it seemed meet unto me.——And now have I given all these Lands into the hand of* Nebuchadnezzar, *the King of* Babylon, *my Servant. And all Nations shall serve him, and his Son, and his Son's Son.——And that Nation and Kingdom, which will not serve the same* Nebuchadnezzar, *the King of* Babylon, *and that will not put their Neck under the Yoke of the King of* Babylon, *that Nation will I punish with the Sword, and with the Famine, and with the Pestilence.*

Introduct.

[a] Jer. 27. Edit. Amstel.

P. Is all come yet, *Tim?*——

T. Sir, I can't stay now to talk of *Gog* and *Magog*, *Pipin* and *Pendragon*, *Valentine* and *Orson*, *Argalus* and *Askapart:* with the *Nine Worthies* and *Seven Champions:* Only I must tell you, I am so far from reading any thing of their treating the Mob, or randying for Votes: that, except *Garagantua*, I scarce ever meet with an Author that could assure me of their eating and drinking.

P. Now thou talk'st all this about the erecting of States, prithee go on and see how alterations have been made, and by whose consent.

T. But first let's sum up what Evidence we have already: You say, there's no Title but by the People's consent: Now besides this, I have found some others of a very different sort; here's a Title by *Frolick*, and by *Wisdom:*—by *Courage*, and by *Cowardice:*—by *Will*, and by *Spight:*——by *Light*, and by *Darkness:*—by *Breeches*, and by *Petticoat:*—by *G--d*, and by *Devil:*

Introduct.

P. Now for the Alterations, *Tim!*

T. I won't be tedious——In that mem ble one, made in the Reign of *Nebuchad zar* (the *Tory* we mention'd but just now cannot see how the People could possibly their Monarch to Grass, and dispose of his fects, unless you are very sure, that *Nem modo, mas modo Vulgus*, is certainly *En* for *Mene Tekel*——There was that jolly C of *Goths* and *Vandals*, that came down u us and took all we had: I do assure you were *Parties concern'd*, and yet we neither nor did any thing, that might any ways or encourage such an Attempt. And what t you of the *Emperor* of *Morocco*, the *Calif Ægypt*, the *Cham* of *Tartary*, the *Czar Sultan?* Nay, and of some of our ne Neighbours too? 'Tis true, I never ask'd how they came by their Kingdoms, but i ly there have been alterations, that their jects never consented to, unless they con ed to be Bridl'd, and Sadl'd, Yok't, and ter'd, Hoodwink'd, and Hamstring'd, Ha Drawn, and Quarter'd: and if they did sent, and do still consent, tacitly, by hol their Tongues, what have you to do o any thing against it? How can you find with the alterations, since you acknowl the Powers that made 'um?

P. Now will I utterly make an end of and all thy Stories at once: for do but obs *Tim:* Sovereigns and Subjects are Relat and must go together: and 'tis impos Men can be subject, unless with their Consent: and this Consent, may be either t or express, voluntary or extorted: but sti

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Consent, and without which no State or Government can subsist. Immaterial.

T. Is it possible!——Did you ever hear the like! What! because all my *Tenants* don't agree, and hang themselves, or rise in a body and devour me: Is that my Title to the *Manor?* At this rate, I'll make my self a Peer and Privy Counsellor of ev'ry Nation in *Europe:* and pray, keep your distance! for I'll swear, there's nothing done in e'er a Parliament, Cortes, Conclave, Dyet, or Divan, but I help'd to Vote it, that is, *Tacitly:* And so because our *Parson* gives us his unfeigned Assent and Consent, therefore he made the *Common-Prayer:* Nay, by this whim I'll justify't, that I made the *Bible*, and I'll call my self the New Light, for *Tace*'s Latin for a Candle.

P. But you must needs own that tacit Consent is sometimes very necessary.

T. Oh! to be sure, in case of Bashfulness: But yet if one should have it under her hand, there must go more to Consummation than that; You know, *Phil*, the great *Adriatick Whore*, that the *Duke* of *Venice* marries every Year: Suppose, she should take a fancy to the *Duke* of *Tuscany*, and sue for a Divorce: do you really think *Doctors-Commons* would overrule her, because she took the Ring and consented *tacitly*, for we'll suppose they were marry'd in a Calm? Why, according to you now, *Phil*, the Teste of *Magna Charta* does not depend on the King's Grant of such and such Privileges, but because the good People of *England* do most graciously assent to 'um, and in their goodness most obligingly condescend to be free.

Introduct.

P. Very ungrateful! *Tim!* For here have I been lab'ring to find thee an Origin for thy States and Governments, and thou doſt nothing but quarrel with me for it: Now e'en ſhift, and try what diſcoveries thou can'ſt make; I hope thou doſt not look upon *Adam* to be King of the Univerſe, and after him the eldeſt Son of the eldeſt Branch? if thou doſt, then ſee and find out this univerſal Heir.

T. Suppoſe he could be found, and he ſhould prove to be the *Great Turk:* yet he muſt be contented with *Jeruſalem*, *Meſopotamia*, and the reſt and reſidue of the Land, that lies near the *Euphrates*, or where the *Geographers* would be pleas'd to agree, that his Predeceſſor *King Adam* liv'd: for he muſt not pretend to meddle with thoſe other Colonies, that were planted by his younger Brothers, and where *Adam* never had any thing to do: but only with the paternal Eſtate.

P. Well, *Tim*, and you are ſure, that the right Line has been preſerv'd intire from the firſt Planters in every Nation in *Europe?*

T. No—for there may have been Conqueſt, Bargain and Sale, Wills and Conveyances.

P. Then farewel Right of Inheritance.

T. Why ſo? Suppoſe here I am Lord of the Mannor of *Trumpington:* and this Mannor came to me originally by Will, or by a Lawſuit: or when the Clergy were all Fools, 'twas begg'd from 'um, or got by Conqueſt in the late Civil Wars: muſt it therefore follow, that when I die, the Pariſh may meet and fight for it, or ride for it to *Kenſington*, and ſo diſinherit my Son *Tom?*

P. How-

P. However it came by Oppression and Wrong. Introduct.

T. Let my Ancestors look to that: besides, the Story of the whole Proceedings is lost, or not compleat, and it might be fair for all that I know: but 'tis a good Right in me, till some body can shew a better: for at this rate of Pleading, an Executor will be horribly perplext in Conscience, when he takes possession of a Demise, unless he be first satisfy'd, that all the Goods and Chattels that come to his Hands, were honestly and fairly heap'd together for several Generations: that there is no stain or blemish upon the Basket-hilted *Bilbo*, that sticks to the Garret Ceiling: that the Great *Tankard* was a fair Purchase: that the Family Ring with the Seal, was every Grain of it, most *religiously* bought of a Goldsmith, who most *piously* purchas'd it of a *Spanish* Merchant, who most *vertuously* traffick't for it with his Correspondent at *Panama*, who most *conscientiously* dug it out of the Mines of *Potosi*.

P. Thou say'st nothing, *Tim*, of the Possibility of forfeiting a Right of Inheritance, when 'tis made conditional.

T. Well but does limiting the Succession, destroy it? Suppose a Father won't leave his Estate to the eldest Son, unless he agree not to turn *Turk*, or not to Marry the Milliner's Daughter in *Pater-noster-row*: and *Jack* do's forfeit, shall this oust *Dick* his younger Brother of the Estate? And if the Family have agreed to such a Limitation, is that any thing to you, that are not of kin?

P. No.

T. Nor to me neither.

P. But now to the Application, *Tim.*

T. Oh Sir! if once you make it a Case of the Crown, 'tis ten thousand times worse: for twenty Years will make a Title to other Estates of Inheritance, but here's twenty, and twenty, and twenty to that: Nay there is a better Title, than if 'twere deriv'd from *Adam*.

P. How so, *Tim.*

T. Why before *Anno Domini* came in fashion, the great King of all us'd to hold frequent Correspondence with his Deputies under him: and would put in one, and turn out another, and make frequent Alterations among 'um: Now how do I know but *Brute* had as good a Title as *Nebuchadnezzar*, or that *Cæsar* had as extraordinary Right to us, as was once pleaded to the *Hivite* and *Jebusite*? so that here the Heir might be overruled: But when this great King had once sent the *Prince* his *Son*, to tell the World, that the Persons in that time in Possession were rightful and lawful Heirs, and that things should go by Inheritance as they did formerly, or in your words *That he would leave all things as he found them*, and that no extraordinary Titles were expected for the future: And this Order had been publish'd a great way before, whereupon a convenient time was allow'd for its passing over to the Treaties of Peace made here, which take place beyond the Line, and after; then 'tis plain upon the Right of the Persons Inclumbered, was better than a Title from those [illegible] look out for t[illegible]

an account of their Family, you'll find at the Bottom of the Pedigree, in great huge Letters her *Royal Majesty Q. Anne*; so that tho' you should prove your self lineally descended from *Arthur* or *Pendragon*, and the *Itch* of Government should be upon you, yet a better Law than that of Nature, and that of K. *Edw.* III. will fairly send you to a *Post*, as the only Remedy that can make you ease for the present, and after that, *Brimstone*.

P. Alas the while for *King Adam!* and so his Heir is lost, and quite vanish'd out of Nature.

T. Are you still hankering after that same universal Heir: If you have really a mind to see him, he's not so lost, but I'll try to find him for you, provided you'll engage to help me in the Search.

P. Not I?—E'en shift for thy self.

T. Well, but I'll promise to find him, and shew you where he is to be seen, if you'll grant me two or three things: and I'll assure you, that you shan't much grudge your Charges, considering the rarity of the Show.

P. Prithee propose 'um then.

T. In the first Place, I desire you would grant me, that if *Adam* had a good Right to the old World, *Noah* and his Sons had as good a Right to the new: nay somewhat better, for they sayl'd for't, and dis'cover'd it: and therefore, *Noah* might take his choice, and set out his Gardens in *Nod*, and his Park Pales as far as *Havila*, without any trespass upon *Cain* or *Methusalem*.

P. No body doubts it.

Introduct. *T.* The next is a less Favour: Only to allow me, that *Shem* was *Noah*'s Son and Heir.

P. Take that too.

T. Nay then the Business is done: and now I dare pronounce and proclaim her Majesty *Q. Anne*, Lady Empress of the Universe.

P. How!

T. Oh! an unquestionable Title! for that accurate and learned Antiquarian, *Dr. Eaton*, in his most excellent Verses upon the Inauguration printed at *Oxford*, and allow'd of by that learned Body, speaks thus of her Majesty,

—Stemma à Magno derivans Melchisedecho.

And in the Notes (which are not like your paultry *Variorum* or *Dauphin*'s Notes, made a great while after the Book, and by other Hands: but written by himself, who certainly best knew his own meaning) there he says of *Melchisedech*— *Idem qui Shem*—and quotes *Matthew Paris* for't—so that I resolve immediately to declare for a Fifth Monarchy——, Sound Drums and Trumpets! —and if you had brought me half so good Evidence for *K. Roger* and his *Mushroom* Men, I'd no more have held up my Hand against you, than if you had been my own Father.

P. However, *Tim*, I'd have thee conceal the Secret till a general Peace comes, for at present we are fighting against this very Notion, so that still thou wilt be at a loss for an Origin to Government; thou talk'st just now of a Great King, and the Prince his Son, and his giving out State Orders and Commissions

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to the Governors in being, Hast thou seen any of 'um *Tim?* Introduct.

T. Yes I have: and I know the Hand, and will swear to it.

P. Then prithee communicate.

T. Perhaps you'll except against it, for 'tis very old, and not drawn up in the Modern Form.

P. I shall like it never the worse, for not beginning with a *Trusty and Well-beloved.*

T. 'Tis not of that sort: but by way of *Declaration.*

P. Out with it then.

T. The Clauses are very comprehensive: I'll cite the most material; it says, *There is no Power but of God:* And then adds, tho' without a said and aforesaid, *The Pow'rs that be, are ordain'd of God*—And then the Penalty follows, which is much severer than that at *Common Law*— Now let but *Pow'r* in this Place signifie something more than a Scarecrow in Harvest, or a Windmill-Clack in an Apple-tree: and let *Ordinance* signifie some little Authority, tho' not so much as it stood for sixty Years ago, and we'll not go for Counsel to *Hammond* or *Whitby.*

P. The Pow'rs that be, *Tim*, may be as well understood of the Pow'rs set up by the People, and dependent on them, as of hereditable Pow'rs.

T. Ay, but then those Pow'rs were ordain'd by the People, and not by God; besides they are not properly Pow'rs, for Pow'r, like Honour, is in the giver: and withal there would be no need then of a Penalty against the People for disobeying, because 'twas their Privi-

lege

Introduct. lege to command; and lastly, Monarchy happens to be the Power in being with us, and therefore let the *Dutch* do what they will with the Text, but we must have a Comment *that is entirely English.*

P. I thought, *Tim*, that Revelation had made no Alterations in Secular Government.

T. Only heighten'd the Penalty of Disobedience: as you may see in the other Clause that establishes the King's Supremacy.

P. But still the Body of the Law remains the same.

T. True, and therefore we do not look upon this to be any new Injunction, but only a Confirmation of the Law of Nature, and Declarative of the old Constitution: so that if I had been in your Place, e'er I would have offer'd to set up an Hypothesis in opposition to the old one, till I had consider'd well who built it, and to whom it belong'd: I would have undertaken to repair *Babel*, or have thrown Crackers against a Thunder Cloud, or listed my self among the Gyants at *Phlegra*.

P. But dost thou think such a Commission as this was design'd to encourage Tyranny?

T. No: for at the same time it pronounces the Subject free, and yet still declares the Sovereign Supream.

P. But what if the Sovereign will abuse his Power?

T. And what if the Subject will abuse his Liberty? We have already appointed a hearing for that Cause: but if Men will shuffle the Cards, they must e'en run the hazzard of the Game: and yet when the Sport's over, one would think it should not be very hard to know

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Court Cards from Commoners, and to place 'um accordingly: tho' in the heat of the Play, perhaps the *King* has been trumpt by the *Tray*, and the *Knave* sometimes got uppermost. In the mean time, *Phil*, if you please, you may question the *Record:* but when once the *Premisses* are allow'd to be Infallible, I must desire you to stand off, and not question the *Consequence.* Introduct.

P. For that matter, I think, no one has more veneration for Religion than my self: You see what Pow'r I allow the Magistrate in the Cases of Atheism, Blasphemy, Immorality and Prophaneness.

T. Speed us well then! We are now come to the business of Religion: which you set upon *page* 11: and having settl'd it, *That the Magistrate by Nature can neither make Laws, nor execute them, protect nor be protected, reward, nor punish:* for all which mighty Prerogatives, he must expect to give a severe Account: Now that you are come to the religious Part, no doubt you'll make him amends, and bestow on him little less than divine Inspiration.

P. Not so neither: He has his just Allowance, and with that must be contented.

T. And good reason has he to be contented: for you have so trick'd him and drest him up, one can hardly know him again; I remember the Corporation of *London*, somewhere in an Address, boast of the number of their Charters: But you have gone and bestow'd on 'um more than all the Kings of *England* before you, and for which you deserve the highest place in *Cornhil*, and to be register'd among the City

Introduct. Benefactors; For thus it runs, *The Magistrate*, say you, *may punish Prophaneness and Immorality* (there's for the Societies) *Religion is intrusted with him* (write that up in the Vestry) *he is to make Preachers, and to depose 'um* (that is any where within his Diocese) *he is to pay 'um as he pleases* (to the Tune of— why should a Blockhead have One in Ten) *and to prescribe to them what Doctrines they shall preach to the People*, for they are all Deputy-Recorders, and the subordinate Mouths of the City; Here now is Loyalty! Here is Pow'r and Prerogative! As sure as may be, we'll have St. *Peter's Keys* added to St. *Paul's Sword*, in the *City Arms*, and the *Conclave* shall meet at *Guild-Hall*.

P. But is not all this the Magistrate's right?

T. Ay: but let him make the best of his time, for his reign is like to be very short: because at *p.* 14, you take all from him again.

P. 'Tis true I qualifie his Pow'r in some measure.

T. As for instance, *The Magistrate cannot establish his Church:* Nay, if he does but offer to go about it, the Church vanishes immediately like an enchanted Castle; *There are no Umpires nor Judges in Religion; the Magistrate must not annex Profits or Preferments to any Religion, and for him to punish Heresie, is as bad as Murder or Robbery; Men are free to chuse what Religion they please: and when they please to be weary of't, they may quit it; nay, if but Two or Three can agree upon a Religion, 'tis theirs, and they may have it: for*

no Magistrate, no Representative, nay even the Majority it self can't rule a Man in point of Religion: and that because he has a Conscience of his own, as well as his Governors, and which may be too slippery for 'um all. Introduct.

P. Now do but consider the political Alloy that I give to absolute Pow'r: how I blend and mingle it, and give it the fashionable Check.

T. Contradictions are indeed the worst checks upon Truth that can possibly be devis'd.

P. Contradictions! I defie thee, to produce so much as one single Contradiction in all that discourse about Religion in my *Introduction*.

T. Nay there is but one, that's certain: for one half gives all Pow'r to the Magistrate, and t'other half takes it all away again; sometimes you are tolerably kind and condescending, and then you let the Magistrate have his bellyful: By and by altogether as stingy, and he shan't have a Bit: In one Page, you will admit of Umpires in Religion: In another, every one must be Umpire for himself: In this *Paragraph*, the Church shall be establish'd as firm as can be, in the next down it must go again Stick and Stone; and thus you lead us up and down, sometimes putting us in hope, and sometimes plunging us in despair: that for my part, whereas you say you differ from *Hobbs* and the *Highflyers*, I can't but imagine you are setting down his and the *Highflyers*, and all other Heterodox Opinions, and instead of setling the Business, only giving us a *Catalogue* of *Heresies*, or compiling a *Religious Dictionary*.

Introduct.

P. Don't prate, *Tim:* I am now serious, and upon a weighty concern.

T. It may be so: but when you were giving us an account of all sorts of Opinions, how came you to miss the only sound and Orthodox one that was to be had? This methinks should not have been forgotten.

P. I do believe 'tis possible to find it among my Writings.

T. With good Directions, I fancy it may: but I'll assure you, if it should be found, 'twill make no great figure there, for it has so many ill Neighbours round it, that it had much rather be somewhere else; Besides, there are so many falshoods pack'd together, that 'tis natural for any one to suspect the whole.

P. I desire thee, *Tim*, not to prate, nor vent any of thy buttery Jests here: for we are now talking of Religion, a thing Sacred and Venerable.

T. According as you have manag'd it, not altogether so Sacred as you may imagine, Sir!

P. Can'st thou guess my Sentiments on that Head? Or dost thou take me for an *Atheist?*

T. I do not know but you may be one: for you hold the same Doctrines, *viz. That Religion is absolutely necessary for Government, and the owning some invisible Power* (no matter what, provided we never see't nor hear from't) *to be the fundamental rise of Polity.*

P. And dost thou not hold the same Doctrine, *Tim?*

T. Yes, an' shall please you: and I hold a little more beside, which however I find you don't think fit to mention.

P. But

P. But do I say any thing to the contrary, *Tim?* I say, that Religion is a political System: but do I say it is *meerly* or *purely* Political? Introduct.

T. Not poz: you are not quite so stout perhaps: however, a Man may hint such a thing, or he may suppose it, or say it by way of Consequence, or according to your way, *Tacitly.*

P. Prove that upon me, if thou can'st: don't I impower the Magistrate to punish the Evil, Irreligious, and Prophane? does this savour of Atheism?

T. True: but when you come to tell us, what you mean by Prophaneness, Vice, and Irreligion, 'tis a hard matter to know 'um from Treason or Felony: for say you, *they are such Actions, whereby Men receive disadvantage, or whereby the Society is injur'd:* Now if the advantage or disadvantage of the Society be the Test and Standard of Religion, then will I have *Westminster-Abbey* remov'd into *Westminster-Hall*, the *Lord Chancellor* shall be in Orders, St. *Stephen*'s *Chappel* Re-consecrated, and the Statutes reprinted under the Title of *Cases of Conscience:* and because some People spend their Time in Prayer, which might be otherwise employ'd for the good of the Society, I'll have these come under the Act against idle disorderly Persons: And because the fourth Commandment does certainly deprive the Publick of one Day in seven, and consequently one Year in seven, (notwithstanding the pious endeavours of some generous publick Spirits to the contrary) therefore I'll have the *Dominical Letter* struck out of the *Almanack*, and the

Introduct. the Butchers shall Petition against Fasting, as prejudicial to Trade, and the Staple Manufactures of this Kingdom.

P. By no means: for these things serve to preserve the Notion of a Deity Sacred and Awful, and all that's for the Use of the Publick.

T. Right: so long as this same Deity of yours continues to be good natur'd, and serviceable to the Publick: that is, *so long as he sends the former and the latter Rain, and giveth Fodder to the Cattle* as a good Deity ought to do, so long we'll respect him and take it kindly at his Hands: But when once he sends the Murrain among our Hogs, over-flows our Hay-cocks, and blows down our Apple-Trees: when once he begins to spread his Notions about, that we ought to undervalue Riches, and despise Places at Court, and to part with Lands, Houses, Wife and Children: all which tends to the ruine of the *Bank*, and the overthrow of the *Exchequer*, and is thereby disadvantageous to the Publick, and consequently notoriously prophane and irreligious: such a Deity as this, must be contented to withdraw, and turn down amongst *Æolus*, *Saturn*, and *Belphegor*.

P. Prithee, *Tim*, if thou hast a mind to make silly Speeches, make 'um for thy self: where do I say all this stuff, that thou hast confusedly heap'd together?

T. Don't you say, that Disadvantage to the Publick is Irreligion and Vice, and Service to the Publick, Piety and Virtue? and can't I comment upon these rare Principles if I think fit? And don't you lay it down as a Fundamen-

tal

Introduct. then, if you ſhould happen to be hang'd up a little higher than the *Dean*'s Chair for *contradiction* (by a decree of the ſame Nature) I know of no diſtinction in *Ariſtotle* that could poſſibly fetch you to Life again.

P. Still thou miſtak'ſt, *Tim*, the Reaſons why I ſaid it.

T. What then belike you might ſay it to excuſe the Duke of *Marlborough?* I remember, you and your *Tories*, do complain ſomewhere in your Book, of the *Duke*'s breaking the Canons at *Ramelly:* the Fault was not ſo great, as to need firſt Principles, Axioms, and Univerſals to defend it: Could you not have ſaid, that if he had not fought on a *Whitſunday*, but had ſtay'd till *Monday*, that had been a Holiday too, and ſo of *Tueſday:* and by that time perhaps the Enemy would have got farther out of the way? Or could not you have urg'd, that if he ſpoil'd one Holyday by Fighting, yet by Conquering he made another, which is as full a reparation as can be deſir'd? But for you to go and ſay in general, *that all Church conſiderations muſt give way to the State, and that the Advantage and Diſadvantage of the Society, make the difference between Vice and Virtue:* whereas 'tis well known, that Virtue does not ſtand upon any thing of Advantage, nor deſires ought of any Body for her Pains: How could you fancy, but that People would imagine your Religion was a Syſtem meerly Political? For if it were Divine, the State muſt certainly yield to it: unleſs you and your *Jeſuits* can prove, that *Queen, Lords and Commons*, are the only true orthodox *Trinity* deſcrib'd in *Athanaſius*.

P. Then

P. Then thou wilt not believe me, *Tim*, if I say that I only intended to keep the Church from being dangerous to the State? Introduct.

T. Oh, Sir! e'en let her alone; she has enough to do to kep her self out of Danger: tho' she's very little oblig'd to you for reckoning her among Storms, Hurricanes, Wars, Mobs, Massacres, and Revolutions: And yet I must tell you, he that made these, made t'other; But now if this had been your meaning, after you had gone and said, that Religion was Advantageous to the Publick, and never design'd to hurt it: you should have added, or at least inserted in your Margent——*Gloria Patri!* —— *Pater Noster!* —— *Benedicite!* or, *in Sæcula Sæculorum!*——if you could have done it with a safe Conscience, and without dread of *Popery:* this would have salv'd the Sore: but as things now stand, how do I know, but that you may persuade some weak Brethren amongst us, that Oaths and Curses, provided they pay for 'um, are as good as Hymns and Ejaculations: and that Bastards must needs be *Jure Divino*, because useful to the Publick.

P. When thou judgest a Man, thou should'st take his Sense entire, and not by pieces: set one thing by another, and lay his Notions together, and then take the Substance of the whole.

T. Allons then! we'll do any thing to please you: There's that scrap of yours, *pag.* 13. where you say, *that the distinction between Civils and Ecclesiasticals is a null void distinction, and such as you resolve to comply with, only for the sake of a foolish Custom:* Now let

Introduct. me take this, and piece it with what we ha
got already, and then we shall certainly kno
your Livery: and that however we may wra
gle about the Church's being cut upon t
State, or its being the Lining of the Stat
or the Trimming, or only the Mode: yet st
they must go together, and make up but o
Suit, a meerly secular and political Habit; a
if this won't do, then we'll go to *pag.* 21, a
there pick up one Proposition, *that all relig
ous matters are vested in the Magistrate:* a
this we'll bring to *pag.* 16, and there lay
close to another Proposition, *the Magistra
has no Power but only in such matters as are
the publick Interest*, or matters purely Civil a
Political: and then 'tis odds but that these tw
Propositions, if they lie long enough togeth
will in time get another Proposition, with
Ergo for its Christian Name, *Ergo, Religion
a matter purely Civil and Political:* for as su
as the Devil's at *London*, that will be the Co
sequence on't.

P. I care not a rush for thy Consequenc
only this, *Tim*, I am ready to acknowled
that Religion is so far a Civil Concern, as
be entirely intrusted with the Magistrate.

T. And yet 'tis also entirely at the choice
the People.

P. Look ye, *Tim*, I do allow the Magistr
to punish those that deny all Religion in ge
ral: but I give the People their choice,
what form or way of Worship they think
to address the Deity.

T. So, it begins to open: and can you v
ture to say, that the Magistrate has the wh
trust of Religion, or Religion entirely in

Pow

Power, because he is to punish Atheism? is the belief of an invisible Being, the whole and substance of Religion? Introduct.

P. 'Tis the first Principle.

T. Ay, and so the first Principle of the *Mathematicks* is the *definition* of a *Point*, and yet he that can define a *Point*, shall not therefore be presum'd to understand *Algebra*; Prithee, *Phil*, what do you mean by the Term, *Entirely?*

P. I advise thee agen and agen, *Tim*, not to prate, and be sawcy.

T. However, I hope I may prate in your Words: now at *pag.* 21, there you say, *the Magistrate is to make Ministers, and to prescribe what Doctrines they shall preach:* So that here's Religion entirely provided for: but then still I am afraid, if the Magistrate may do all this, there will be very little choice left for the People.

P. They shall both have their shares, if thou'lt be quiet: we'll first examine the Magistrate's Power in Religion, and after that the People's.

T. Content —— It has been already agreed that the Magistrate has no Power of Life and Limb, nor can have, and yet now he is put upon to punish the Immoral, the Vicious, and the Prophane: how this can be salv'd, I can't see, unless you'll allow, that the Degeneracy of the World, and the Ends of Government, may oblige the Magistrate to assume more Power, than was at first intended.

P. I can never grant that, he may plead it in the grossest Usurpations.

Introduct.

T. Nay then let it shift: But I would fain know how he can punish Atheism, Blasphemy and Prophaneness, if the People are allowed to chuse what form of Worship they please?

P. Why not? they may worship God what way they please, and yet not deny or blaspheme him: Dost thou call this arguing, *Tim?*

T. That's as it proves, for in my poor opinion now, variety of *Worships* makes variety of *Gods*; for we see the whole World acknowledges one first invisible Being: but because they call it by a *Form*, hence *Polytheism* arises, and this makes the difference: so that there's now no more comparison between the Gods of *Samson* and those of *Persia*, than between a *Samson* and a *Sampson*.

P. Prithee leave prattling, *Tim!*

T. I have real reason, *Sarah* might have gone on quietly in the Kingdom still, if either he had not pleas'd to have certify'd, or the People have voted in *Act of Uniformity*: but that being wanting, the *Mayor* and *Aldermen*, who are to chuse first, worship'd him in Chapter and Mercheness; the *Recorder* and *Town Clerk* not being this way, nor being thereto oblig'd by their Charter, ador'd him in form of Fee: the *Serjeants* and *Maces* on the other hand, fancy'd he sometimes dwelt in Tipstaves and Oaken planks, and kept a House for Delivery, and they proceeded accordingly: In the mean time the young Fry of the Corporation were persuaded, that he was a Gallant or so: and Mr. *Mayor*'s Daughter is of Opinion, that he can never be so old as her Father would make her believe, and that he certainly wears a long Wig, and ears

ts Essence of *Cantharides*: and all these take pecial care to imitate those Divine Attributes; it now comes the *Alderman*, and he says, at this is not the same *Saturn* that he worips (as indeed he's very much alter'd) and that he may keep his own God to himself, sets a new Name upon his Neighbour's, d thus *Saturn* comes to be multiply'd into *utus*, *Mars*, *Jupiter*, and *Priapus*. Introduct.

P. Now cannot I devise, for what end ou hast huddl'd together all this heathenish rgon.

T. I'll tell you: amidst all this Jargon, say 'tis impossible to punish Blasphemy, Proaneness, and Immorality: because the Matrate can never know 'um from Devotion, ety, and Virtue.

P. Why so?

T. Because that which may be Blasphemy iinst *Saturn*, may be a Compliment to *Ve*-, and my God is as good as Mr. *Mayor*'s, d ought to have as much respect: and then to Immorality, that for which *Jupiter* would mn a Man to *Styx*, may perhaps in *Apollo*'s dgment deserve *Elizium*: and so likewise swearing, suppose I should rap 'um out in name of *Vulcan*, what's that to Mr. *Mayor*? owns no such Being, tho' his Wife perhaps y: and put case, a Man should thunder in ieral: yet still it must be understood of his n God, with whom it is charitably to be esum'd he may make bold: besides, if this forbidden, then farewel Rhetorick, the at support of Civil Societies, for we'll e *O exclamantis! Proh Jupiter!* and *En*

Introduct.

T. Nay then let it shift: But I would fain know how he can punish Atheism, Blasphemy and Prophaneness, if the People are allowed to chuse what form of Worship they please?

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T. That's as it proves: for in my poor opinion now, variety of *Worship*, makes variety of *Gods:* for we see the whole World acknowledges one first invisible Being: but because they can't agree about a *Form*, hence *Polytheism* arises, and this makes the difference: so that there is now no more comparison between the Gods of *Bantam* and those of *Persia*, than between a *Beau* and a *Bearwarden*.

P. Prithee leave prating, *Tim!*

T. I do really believe, *Saturn* might have gone on quietly in the Kingdom still, if either he had been pleas'd to have certify'd, or the People have voted an *Act of Uniformity:* but that being wanting, the *Mayor* and *Aldermen*, who are to chuse first, worship'd him in Gravity and Morosenes: the *Recorder* and *Town Clerk* not liking this way, nor being thereto oblig'd by their Charter, ador'd him in form of Fee: the *Serjeants* and *Mace-bearers* on the other hand, fancy'd he sometimes dealt in Tipstaves and Oaken plants, and kept a Limbo for Insolvents, and they proceed ed accordingly; in the mean time the young Fry of the Corporation were persuaded, that he kept a small a Girl or so: and Mr. *Mayor's* Daughter is of Opinion, that he can never be so old as her Father would make her believe, and that he certainly wears a long Wig, and

eat-

eats Essence of *Cantharides*: and all these take especial care to imitate those Divine Attributes; but now comes the *Alderman*, and he says, that this is not the same *Saturn* that he worships (as indeed he's very much alter'd) and so that he may keep his own God to himself, he sets a new Name upon his Neighbour's, and thus *Saturn* comes to be multiply'd into *Plutus*, *Mars*, *Jupiter*, and *Priapus*. Introduct

P. Now cannot I devise, for what end thou hast huddl'd together all this heathenish Jargon.

T. I'll tell you: amidst all this Jargon, say I, 'tis impossible to punish Blasphemy, Prophaneness, and Immorality: because the Magistrate can never know 'um from Devotion, Piety, and Virtue.

P. Why so?

T. Because that which may be Blasphemy against *Saturn*, may be a Compliment to *Venus*, and my God is as good as Mr. *Mayor*'s, and ought to have as much respect: and then as to Immorality, that for which *Jupiter* would damn a Man to *Styx*, may perhaps in *Apollo*'s Judgment deserve *Elizium*: and so likewise for swearing, suppose I should rap 'um out in the name of *Vulcan*, what's that to Mr. *Mayor*? He owns no such Being, tho' his Wife perhaps may: and put case, a Man should thunder in general: yet still it must be understood of his own God, with whom it is charitably to be presum'd he may make bold: besides, if this be forbidden, then farewel Rhetorick, the great support of Civil Societies, for we'll have *O exclamantis! Proh Jupiter!* and *En*

Introduct. *& Ecce demonstrandi*, expell'd the Grammar, as Hereticks and Apostates.

P. Thou art talking all this while of Heathenism, and the Religions of our Pagan Ancestors.

T. Alack-a-day, Sir! you could never mean any other than Religions purely Human and Political, as those were: for if you had offer'd to have talk'd of a Divine Religion, let me tell you the only one we have of the sort holds so many things in contradiction to your Worship, that indeed I thought it ill Manners to mention it to you: and besides, being Divine, I question much whether any of your Powers will reach it: unless you can certainly make it out, that the Gospel is a Commentary upon *Justinian*'s Institutes, and that *Pontius Pilate* was the first *Evangelical Archbishop*.

P. But these were Heathens, *Tim*, and I hope thou will't allow a Christian Magistrate a little more Power in Religion.

T. I'll allow, Sir, that the Christian Magistrate shall punish Christian Blasphemy, Immorality and Prophaneness, and he shall have the Care of the Christian Religion: but that's not your Religion, for yours is at the disposal of the People.

P. Did'st thou ever take the *Oath* of *Supremacy*, *Tim?*

T. Yes, Sir, I have, stoutly and manfully: and yet for all that, if there should come out an *Act* of *Parliament* against Charity, if a *Vote* should pass against Devotion, or the *Great Wax* be sent down against original Sin: I am persuaded it would signifie no more, than the grant-

Queen, about the Clergy's Conning over their Lessons, and their not Marrying with their Maids, to prove, that our present Clergy can't write nor read, and that our Modern *Abigails* are the Spawn of *Simon Magus*. Introduct.

P. These however are Precedents.

T. And they are to let you see, that *Kings* and *High-Sheriffs* will sometimes do strange things; tis true indeed, King *Edward*, was in the right on't, for 'twas to persuade the Monks of *Winchester* to chuse his Brother for their Bishop (for, it seems, he had ne'er a *Conge d'estiere* then about him) so in all probability the Sermon was in the *Chapter-house*, where you know many a poor Tenant is allow'd to preach, tho' 'tis generally found to have very slender Effects upon the Audience: but as for the *High-Sheriff*, he might have spar'd his pains, and set up one of his *Trumpeters* in his stead, for I don't question, but the *Javelin Men* would have stood by him.

P. Nay questionless, the Magistrate may ordain whom he pleases.

T. And yet methinks, if it were his right to Preach himself, I wonder we have no more Precedents: for my part, I'd fain have him exercise his Talent oftner: I must needs tell you, I know of nothing would more promote true Piety and Religion than this; for, as for your Preachers, they'll bawl loud enough indeed, and rail, and lay on as fast and firm as ever a *Hector* in *Holborn*, but then nothing comes on't, the Congregation retires, and the Hearers go home to their Beef and their Pudding as chearful as the Saints: whereas now if a Mayor were to come up, or the Constable

Introduct. ble to hold forth in Person, they might raise the *Posse*, or command People to aid and assist, and so no *Sin* could possibly escape, nor *Heresie* stand before them.

P. I thought *Tim*, I should bring thee to own my Doctrine the most advantageous to the Publick.

T. And yet like other good Doctrines, it has some Inconveniencies attending it: for suppose the Magistrate should ever now and then give us a Cast of his Ministerial Office, the People perhaps might mistake all that he said for *Law*, instead of *Gospel*: and so in a little time, we should find it hard to know 'um asunder; 'tis true indeed, this would rid us of some few troublesome Ceremonies, as namely *Processions*, *and Thanksgiving days* (I'll assure you they are great Grievances to some of the Nobility) for the *Commons* might vote Thanks, and appoint a *Committee*, which would do the Business every whit as well; and then we need have no *Assize Sermons*, (some of 'um have been complain'd of) for the *Charge*, especially if well stuff'd with *Proofs*, would be all one, the *Judge* being in *Orders*: but then having condemn'd a *Burglar* or *Felon*, upon his serious and hearty Repentance (as that's the proper time for't) I can't see how he could deny him Absolution, which for all that I know, might be pleaded next *Assize*, and so pass for a *Pardon*.

P. Now, *Tim*, cannot I see for my Life, why Religion should not be as easily distinguish'd from Polity then, as now,

T. How will that be done? they both come from the same Author, and are under the same Broad

Introduct. the ſmall Pox, or Commiſſion the *Sheriff* and *Poſſe* to ſuppreſs Fevers and Conſumptions.

P. However I ſee no Incapacity in the Magiſtrate to diſable him from taking, and conſequently giving Orders.

T. With all my Heart: but then what difference will there be between making a Magiſtrate a Parſon, and making a Parſon a Magiſtrate? the laſt of which you will by no means allow of; Now for my part, I'll oppoſe nothing that's for the Publick Good: and if this be ſo, e'en let the Parliament paſs an Act for a *Spiritual Preſs*, and let thoſe that come inn be examin'd at the *Secretary*'s *Office:* and it being there certify'd that they can conſtrue Greek, and have made good Intereſt with *Sanderſon* and *Pearſon*, and are Men of approv'd Valour, ſo that there are few Texts but what they can be too hard for: let 'um thereupon be admitted to the *Seals:* but then what ſhall become of 'um afterwards? We muſt have 'um down into the Country I ſuppoſe, there to hold forth at the next *County Court*, or general Quarter *Seſſions* of the Peace.

P. Why not as well in the Church?

T. Well, let it be there then: But what Doctrines ſhall they preach?

P. Thoſe the Magiſtrate muſt preſcribe.

T. Nay then I can eaſily gueſs what will be the Burden of the Song: *Firſt*, They'll lay down ſome general Heads and Propoſitions, as namely, *That there is an abſolute neceſſity of a great ſtrength at Sea: That there is a deficiency in the Funds: That more Forces muſt be rais'd in proportion to the Quota's of the Allies:* And ſecondly, *They'll ſhew the gre*

Pro

Promises and Blessings made and contain'd herein: For Instance, *The setting the Poor on Work: The encouragement of Trade: The suppression of Popery, Immorality and Prophaneness, and restoring the Ballance of* Europe: And so they'll conclude with a Word or two by way of practical Inference, *exhorting, to a hearty Concurrence in the Land Tax, to a pious Advancement of Tonnage and Poundage, and a serious Continuation of the Duties of Excise.* Introduct.

P. And why may they not as well preach up Piety and Morality, as Taxes and Payments?

T Because that's *Gospel*, Sir, and I do not find as yet that the Magistrate has been pleas'd to reveal any thing of that sort to his Subjects: 'Tis true, indeed, *Cromwell* undertook it once, but having no better Evidence than only a few *Dragoons* or so, I find from my Authors he got more Plunder than Credit by the Bargain——Now suppose the Magistrate should ordain me to preach up Piety and Holiness, and thereupon I ring the Market Bell and summon the Congregation, charging them in the King's Name to be Humble, Charitable and Devout: and they promise me they will, that is, with a little of his Majesty's Grace: can I in return say, that if they do accordingly, his Majesty will reward 'um with a thousand a Year in *Crown Lands*, or that he has erected an Office for *adscititious Spirits*, or has set *Asgil* to work to make *flying Chariots* for them and their Families (that is if they have Faith enough to believe it) or can I venture to affirm, that when his Majesty shall be tran-

Introduct. ſlated according to the Tenor of *Modern Addreſſes*, he has there variety of Places of Truſt and Profit to diſpoſe of, enough to make 'um all *Lord Chancellors* or *Secretaries of State*: Or can I preſume to aſſert, that *Trent* and *Humber* are Rivers of pleaſure for evermore, and that according to Dr. [a] *Manningham*'s Predictions, the great *Milenniary* ſhall open preciſely by ſuch a Day at *Windſor* or *Kenſington*?

[a] Sermon on the Victory at Ramelly.

P. And why all this noiſe of a new Goſpel? Will not the old one ſerve as well? And may not the Magiſtrate interpret that by his Miniſters as he pleaſes?

T. What then you would have none of our *London* Divines come up at *Pauls* or St. *Margets*, till they have firſt ſpoken with a *Committee* or been at *Guild-hall*? Or if they are at a loſs about a Caſe of Conſcience now in hand, which they think bears a little hard upon the Times, you would perhaps ſend 'um to *White*'s or the *Lobby*, to get intelligence of a new Text, or what proper Methods may be taken to qualiſie and allay the Doctrine, that the Preacher may come off ſmoothly and current as he hopes for *Thanks* and a *Deanry*.?

P. Truly I ſee no harm in all this.

T. Harm! Is it not Orthodox and Legal? Scripture of any private Interpretation? And not the *Ruſſian* Laws require, that no Exposition or Comment ought to be admitted without the Broad-Seal, and that all Caſes of Conſcience are finally to be reſolv'd by the *Czar* in perſon? Now as this manifeſtly tends to preſerve a good Correſpondence between the Church and State, ſo it cannot but ke

the whole Body of the Clergy from being over Fat and Foggy, and from Luxury and Laziness, because they must be always busie in proving whatever their Sovereigns shall ordain; For suppose a Decree should be issu'd, strictly requiring and injoining *Simony* and *Non-residence:* What Pains must a poor Divine take, how much must he spend in Candle and Tobacco, how many Fathers must he dust over, and how many Commentators, Scholiasts, Glossographers and Paraphrasts must he disturb and trouble about the Matter, and I know not how many Logicians, to prove, that 'tis very hard a Man should have a Living for nothing and without honestly paying for't: that Carnals for Spirituals, is a fair Bargain and a warrantable Exchange? And then in the case of *Non-residence:* That it can never be presum'd any of the *Apostles* Successors should be confin'd to one Place and Climate, or wear Goloshoes, or lye twice in the same Bed, or that they should set their Affections upon such carnal Contrivances as Barns, Stables and Reekhouses are usually suppos'd to be: And then to go on and show, that there is nothing against this Doctrine in the *Acts of the Apostles* or any of their *Epistles*, and that if there be any such thing to be found in the *Old Testament*, it is a Type and a Shadow, and therefore may be desir'd to go about it's Business: doubtless such a Task as this is only fit for *Doctors* and *Professors*, or some Candidate for the *Crosier*.

P. Oh rare *Tim!*

T. But then there are other Cases and Questions, of more ease and dispatch, for *Vicars*, *Curates*, and young beginners: for if it

Introduct.

Introduct. ſhould ſo happen that an *Order* of *Co*
ſhould come out, ſummoning all his Maje
Loving Subjects perſonally to appear be
him, in order to receive at his Hands eit
moſt gracious Box on the Ear, or a moſt
deſcending Kick on the Breech, accordi
his Majeſty in his great Wiſdom thinks
meet to be done: Where now is that Dol
Blockhead of a Parſon, that will not at
ſight undertake to prove, that all this i
tirely Orthodox and *Catholick*: and tha
whole Body of the Laity ought to re
theſe Impoſitions, not only with Obed
and Submiſſion, but alſo to hold themſ
highly oblig'd to the Throne for ſuch e
ordinary Favours and Condeſcenſions? I
there not a Place in *Eccleſiaſticus* exact
that purpoſe? And another in *Matthew*?
ſides there is the Reaſon of the Thing:
they know very well that *Czars* are God's
puties and Vicegerents, they have ſeen
Commiſſion and know the Hand, and
that pretend to queſtion it, are *Rebels*
Raſcals.

P. Oh ay, and Hereticks and Apoſ
never to be forgiven —— I am glad I hav
cover'd thee, *Tim*: If thou hadſt gon
thou hadſt certainly been ſnap'd, I had
ſuch a Gin for thee.

T. What was it?

P. No matter, now you're paſt it.

T. Nay I'll know, tho' I recant all I
ſaid: So that now I hold and maintain,
the Magiſtrate has not, nor ought to have
ſupreme Power to preſcribe terms of Con

nion or to interpret Scripture —— And now the *Puppy-snatch?* Introduct.

P. Nay, *Tim*, if thou wilt on, and be obstinate, upon thy own brainless Head be the blame— Know then, that if the Magistrate cannot prescribe terms of Communion, or interpret Scripture, because this would be the same thing as a Power to make Scripture: will not the same Reason hold good against the Clergy, for they are altogether as fallible, and much less supreme than the Magistrate? How wilt thou come off this, *Tim?*

T. As clever as a Die, ne'er fear it: for do but apply this Ecclesiastical Argument to Civils (as you know they are much alike) and see how 'twill pass; The Magistrate, *say we*, makes the Law, and so has a Power to dispose of it: and accordingly he has put it into the hands of twelve Men, commonly call'd *Judges*, who are to interpret it, and to tell on what Terms and for what Fees People are to be admitted into Court: but yet they are not to fix what Terms and what Interpretation they please; Now here come you, *and say*, that the *Jury*, and not the Judge, are to interpret the Law: And why? Because they are Twelve to one, and so make a Majority: besides we'll suppose 'um to be a *special Jury*, and therefore more to be regarded than ordinary *Talesmen:* But then, *say we*, the *Jury* may as well undertake to make the Law, as to interpret it: Nay they must, if they can, make a new one for the very purpose: for the old one is plainly against 'um; Now here you enter with your *Puppy-snatch*, *and you say* that if the *Jury*'s pretending to expound the Law be the

Introduct. same as to make it, Why is it not the same with the *Judges?* To which we *Answer*, That all the reason of the Difference is, because the Law gives it to the one rather than the other: But why it do's so, you had best step and ask the *Parliament* that made it: and be sure you take your Gins and your Traps along with you, and pitch somewhere else, for here are no *Woodcocks* in this Walk: but wherever you set 'um again, have a care by all means of pinching your own Fingers.

P. However, I should expect a very good Reason, why so great a Power as the Ecclesiastical appears to be, was at first committed to an inferior Rank of Men, and not to the then Governors.

T. In that, *Phil*, you are not singular: for when Religion first came up, there were a sort of Folks that look'd for great Matters: They dream'd of nothing but Crowns and Half-crowns, and expected all to be *Privy-Counsellors:* However they have found themselves baulk'd, and they have since been told the Reasons of it: Now if you'll get your self Gelt, or at least Circumcis'd, and herd among the *Stinkards*, then we'll be extraordinary learned, and drain all *Grotius*, but we'll bring you back again to *sound Sense* and *fat Bacon*.

P. I'll suppose, *Tim*, the first Planters of Religion were not Magistrates, yet the first Magistrates they converted, might immediately be invested with their Power.

T. Who doubts it? If both Parties could agree: and therefore you see the *Pope*, as great as he pretends to be, yet still acknowledges

ledges the humble Origin of his Holineſs, and tho' he undertakes to combat crown'd Heads, yet 'tis always with *the Arms of the Fiſher.*—— But in the mean time, *Phil*, we have let this ſame Magiſtrate reign a little too long; Is it not time, think you, to diſmiſs him, and call him the People? Introduct.

P. With all my Heart!

T. Hold a little: There's one pretty Notion of yours, about indifferent Things, and the Power of the Magiſtrate over 'um, which I can't forbear examining.

P. I hope thou do'ſt not take up with that common and grand Miſtake, that his Power reaches to thoſe Caſes.

T. Why not? you ſay 'tis common and voted by the People: Are you ſure 'tis a grand Miſtake?

P. But if he may command in indifferent Things, his Power would be inſupportable: for then he might hinder us from managing our Family Concerns, or from forming our ſelves into Clubs and Meetings for Buſineſs or Pleaſure.

T. Why, are Buſineſs, and Pleaſure, and Family concerns, indifferent Things?

P. Yes certainly, they are indifferently at our diſpoſal to manage as we pleaſe, till the Magiſtrate interpoſes.

T. And ſo are all things in Nature, unleſs that's ſtinted by a higher Authority, and in thoſe Caſes there's no need of a Magiſtrate to act but only to enforce: ſo that if he can't command in Things neceſſary, nor Things indifferent, wherein does his Power conſiſt?

P. In all that's for the Publick good.

Introduct.

T. But even that to the People is indifferent, till the Magistrate has set it out, and declar'd it to be necessary, and that too in some more forceable way than barely giving his Reasons for't: (which is the business of Preambles) who would have thought, but that every Man might if he pleas'd have worn *Cloath Buttons* to his Coat? The *Button-makers* might in this case indeed complain of the Usurpation of the *Taylors*, and the Magistrate in a handsome Declaration might have taken their parts and prov'd it prejudicial to Trade: but still there was no Law nor Force upon the Subject, and we were free to lay out our Money as we pleas'd: till at last comes a Statute, and rescues *Cloath Buttons* from their primitive Indifference; now where's the Mistake of all this? Indeed if I were you, I'd never oppose common Consent without better Reasons for't, because you see the People may sometimes be in the right: and so, if you please, we'll let 'um enter, toss up their Hats, and then to Polling.

P. But first, they declare in behalf of themselves and the rest of their Neighbours, *That there are no Judges and Umpires in Religion: that 'tis impossible any one should be represented, or even determin'd by a majority, in things sacred.*

T. Good! I find we are got among the *Lincolnshire* Levellers; but will their Wisdoms please to give any Reason for all this?

P. Because every one must chuse for himself, and judge for himself: neither could he part with this Power to any other.

T. Rare!

T. Rare! but why might he not part with t? 'Tis plain he parted with it in things arnal. Introduct.

P. Ay, but Spirituals are of more Impor-ance.

T. To me now that ſhould be a Reaſon, hy I ſhould leſs rely upon my ſelf in theſe, han in worldly concerns: and I do believe I m leſs likely to be cheated in this caſe, than n t'other: for they, who are that way given, ad rather take a Man's *Cloak* than his *Soul*, nd more good 'twill do 'um.

P. I am ſorry, *Tim*, to find thee ſo weak: loſt thou not ſee plainly, that this will make hy Religion entirely at another's diſpoſal? And that, if the Magiſtrate may judge for his ubjects what is Truth, he may paſs upon 'um hat he pleaſes under that Name.

T. That methinks is very unreaſonable: for ſuppoſe my Neighbour goes to Market, and I deſire him as my Umpire and Repreſentative to chuſe me a *Leg* of *Mutton*, and bring't home, and I'll pay him for't: can he or any body elſe ſuppoſe, that by this Grant I have made him Supreme *Judge* and *Tyrant* of my Market: and that if he bring me a hundred of *Sprats*, or a *Calves Pluck*, 'twill infallibly paſs for *Mutton*?

P. Prithee, *Tim*, what is *Truth*?

T. When you have put the Queſtion, *Phil*, if you'll not be quite ſo arbitrary as your Pre-deceſſor *Pilate* was, but be content to ſtay an Anſwer: I'll venture to let you know, that Truth is a *fine Lady*, very ſhy, yet univerſally courted: ſo great a lover of Solitude, that ſhe's ever rambling on purpoſe to looſe herſelf:

Introduct. and then *Hey* for the *Knights Errant*, and *Adventurers!* they must mount, and out in search over Mountains, Wildernesses, Seas, or burning Islands; now for my part, 'tis indifferent to me, who finds her: whether *Prince*, *Knight*, *Squire*, or *private Centinel:* neither do I much care, where she's found: whether she be hid between either of the Books of *Euclid*, or behind the *Arundel Marble*, or inclos'd in *Lock's Air Castles*, or in a corner of the *Alexandrian* Library: 'tis all one to me, so we be sure of her, and that 'tis certainly *she*; and when we once know her tricks, why may not the Government provide a sufficient Guard for her, and see her set in a place of security: or at least well mark'd, that she may'nt gad agen, and put us to the expence of *Palfreys*, *Gennets*, and *inchanted Barges?*

P. But would'st thou have People take Truth upon trust blindly, and without examination?

T. I do tell you, Sir, she has been examin'd already: she has produc'd her Pass, and her Certificates: and we find her sufficiently recommended, and that she has all her Marks about her: she has been cry'd in the Market, has given out Bills, and at such a Sign and Hour is to be seen, *Vivat Regina*——Now you are as free to examine her as any body else, provided you do it modestly, and like a Gentleman; and if you can certainly prove her a *Counterfeit*, and produce the real *Gipsy*, we'll take her, and whip t'other out of Town; but till this is done, pray don't hinder the Show, and Spoil Custom.

P. I

. I claim nothing for my ſelf, but what I w to every body elſe: I ſay every one is n to Senſe, and may, when he comes to uſe of it, apply it for himſelf in the choice is Religion: and to aſſert the contrary, es only to diſcourage Light and Know- e. Introduct.

. Look ye, *Phil*, no Body hinders you n getting as much Light as your Eyes can , and from projecting as many diſcove- , as *the Royal Society* can tell what to do : you may make all your Spectacles of tiplying Glaſſes, or if you have intereſt gh, get an *Order* of *Council* for inlarging *Winter Evenings*: or if you pleaſe, you try the *North East India Paſſage*, or erect ſt-Office and ſettle the Stages to the *Moon*: ſtill the way to Heaven will lye by the *of good Hope*, and unleſs the *Sons* of the y would come into the World with each w Text of Scripture in their Mouths, for uſe of their Parents: *Geneſis*, *Exodus*, and reſt of 'um, will e'en ſtand where they a thouſand years ago: and then, till an of *Parliament* ſhall come out, ſtrictly re- ing all *Her Majeſty*'s Loving Subjects to k nothing but *Greek* upon *Sundays*, and *ew* upon Holidays: I ſee no reaſon why old Tranſlation ſhould not ſtand, unleſs would have it ſhare in all the refinings of Language, and alter every time that does, the Modiſh Multiplication of words naturally produces a Multiplication of nings, ſo that in a little time the *Synop- ticorum* ſhould outſwel the *Polyglot*, and by *punning* Comments and Gloſſes, mi- ſtake

Introduct. ſtake *Bible* for *Babel*, and reſolve to make both away in the ſame manner.

P. All the while, what becomes of C ſcience? you take no notice of that: Cor ence is certainly a religious Concern, and ev Man is to ſatisfie his own Conſcience, and the Magiſtrate.

T. You and I *Phil.* have agreed betw us, that the Magiſtrate ſhall have the C of the State, and with it the care of Relig too: for, ſay you, they go together; but t private Conſcience is no more to Relig than Œconomy is to Government: One is private Management of a Man's Mind, the other of his Family; now 'tis plain, Man can impoſe the Model of his Domef ſtate upon the Publick: for belike his V wears the Breeches, or his great rom Daughter commands the whole Houſe: he therefore pretend that *Mrs. Mayoreſs* ſign Warrants, or that *Miſs Molly* ough go in Furrs, with the Mace and Beadles fore her? So on the other hand, no one impoſe his own private Conſcience upon Church: let him keep it to himſelf, tak home, and give it what Satisfaction he plea the Magiſtrate is ſo far from undertakin meddle with it, that indeed it is not in Power: and therefore a Man, if he pleaſes, in his Conſcience make horns at the Conſta or bid the *Lord Mayor* kiſs his Breech, that is *citly:* and he may do this in the very hea *Stocks Market:* but if he deſigns either of t Compliments ſhould paſs from his Conſci to his Tongue or Fingers ends, I would firſ all means adviſe him, to take a Skuller at

Old Swan, or make the best of his way thro' *Temple-bar*. Introduct.

P. Then you would have a Man afraid of acting according to his Conscience, and the Magistrate's Power shall be the Reason for't? What if he should injoyn thee any thing sinful, and that which in thy Conscience thou could'st not comply with?

T. Then would I step up to him, and civilly tell him my Reasons, and desire him to spare me in this: Nay, tho' he answer'd me, as you do, *that all Church Considerations must give way to the State*, and that this is for the good of the State of which he is the Judge: yet for all that, I should desire him to be excus'd; but then I must not plead Conscience without a Reason for't, and a very good one too, and then belike if I prove wiser than my Governors, and can show 'um where they are in the wrong, and set 'um right, I may get Credit, and perhaps Preferment for the discovery: but if I should go, and undertake to make it out, that the Publick have gone and settled a false Religion, and that all their *Apostles, Saints, Martyrs and Divines*, are quite in the wrong: and instead of giving Reasons for't, or very silly ones, should only say, *that my Conscience tells me so*, I believe the only scruple I should raise in my Governor's Conscience, would be, whether I ought to be hang'd *most absolutely*, or only whipt a little in *the Spirit of Moderation*.

P. You mistake me, *Tim*: I don't think a private Conscience ought to influence any Body but the Person it belongs to: but then I would

Introduct. would not have the Magiſtrate diveſt h
his own.

T. How then ſhall he be intruſted wit
ligion, if any one may plead Conſcience
Authority?

P. Obſerve, *Tim*, I only give him th
of Religion in general.

T. A noble Truſt by *Matchiavil!* T
the People may do as they pleaſe, only
muſt ever now and then ask their Conſci
and then run and tell the Magiſtrate in
ral, that they are very Pious and Reli
for that's all they are to entruſt him with
this rate of reaſoning, we had no need
Law and the Prophets, for the Sum and
ral of 'um (*Do as you would be done by*
heard of long before: and therefore I
have the *Parliament* meet once for all
make but two Laws, in two Words, ob
all People to be *Vertuous and Honeſt:*
for Enlargements, Caſes, and Explana
they muſt all be left to private Conſcienc
Obſervations.

P. Really, *Tim*, thou ridicul'ſt Conſ
at ſuch a rate, I doubt whether thou be
any ſuch thing: Prithee what doſt thou
by it?

T. However, I can pretty well gueſs
you mean by it: for according to you, i
ſignifie either a *religious Vote*, or elſe a
Appetite in every Man, that at the firſt t
tell what Religion is for that Man's turn
reliſh beſt with him, and is exactly to hi
poſe and Conſtitution.

P. And you are for ſuch a Conſcience
ſtroys all choice of Religion.

T. Why so? Are Mens Religions always to chuse? would you have the Magistrate run up and down with a pack of Religions at his back? crying, *Religions of all sorts!* —— *Choice of Religions!* —— *Here is your dainty fine* Alcoran. —— *And your rare superfine* Popery. —— *Come away Customers!* —— Introduct.

P. I am e'en tir'd with thy Prate, *Tim!* I talk all this while of *Christianity* and the *Gospel*: only I enquire who shall fix Interpretations?

T. Who indeed! for talk of what *Gospel* you please, it may be so interpreted as to signifie the same thing with *Mahometism*; now our Gospel won't allow any private Person to interpret, any more than the Law will allow either Plaintiff or Defendant to construe any of our Statutes: if it did, no one would ever be in the wrong, or indeed ever in the right.

P. And will all this satisfie my Conscience, or ease me of my Scruples?

T. Perhaps not: for suppose my Neighbour comes and breaks down my Hedges, and throws my Grounds to common: I may have Scruples, that all this is wrong: and he may have Scruples, that 'tis all right: and so we may away to *Chancery*, where if we will wait with Patience, we shall have all our Scruples fairly resolv'd; now when this is over, say you, we may have Scruples still: but I tell you, those Scruples, by a Decree in *Chancery*, are converted into Obstinacy and Perverseness; which according to you, are conscien[illegible] and the heighth of Wisdom [illegible] (and he has a tolerable Character [illegible] too) makes it the worst of Folli[illegible]

Introduct. ty mild and good-natur'd to all other Fools: he sends the *slothful fool* to the Ant, the *lustful fool* to the Stocks, and even your fool, the *ungovernable fool*, just as your *Schioppius* does, to the Bridle, the Saddle, and the Whip: but he is quite out of patience with the *obstinate fool*, and sends him to *Anaxagoras*, to be bray'd in a Mortar among Wheat, with a Pestle.

P. And I think thou ought'st to go with him for the same Crime: I tell thee, I would not have Conscience pleaded against the good of the State, or in secular Matters, but the Case of Religion is different.

T. 'Tis strangely alter'd then, for 'twas the same just now: but now let 'um differ as much as they can, still, say I, a Man ought as much to make a Conscience of his dealings towards Men, as towards his Maker, and that he may as well be free in one as in t'other, and then Conscience may as well be pleaded to *Trover and Conversion*, as to *an Act of Uniformity*.

P. Not so neither, for the good of the State, which is intrusted with the Magistrate, requires the one.

T. And the good of the Church which is incorporated with the State, and is also intrusted with the Magistrate, requires the other.——But according to you now, Conscience is to destroy both Church and State, for I need but say, that fair Dealing, Trade, Commerce, Conversation, nay Eating and Drinking, Hats and Cloaks, are Matters in which Religion and Conscience may be concern'd, and then I come with a *Certiorari*, and I say no Body can judge for me what is Truth, or direct

direct me in religious Matters: and so fare-wel Law, for I can remove my Cause at any time out of any Court, even that of *the House of Lords*, into a *Court of Conscience* at home, where I am Supreme Moderator and Governor. Introduct.

P. Prithee, *Tim*, do but explain to me what thou mean'st by Conscience.

T. Why Conscience is a certain intestine Vessel, compos'd of a Cartilaginous Film or Tunick, capable of Contraction and Dilatation, join'd to the Brain by a hollow Tube, through which the Understanding descends, and there meets the Legs, Arms, and other Members, or their Proxies, which it examines and punishes, according to such Informations from above, as are daily brought by the Animal Spirits.

P. And what are those Informations?

T. They are taken out of *Gospels*, *Laws*, and *Alcorans*, the best that can be got to be sure—— In short, *Phil*, Conscience does not signifie a Dog's Tail, an Asses Colt, or a Windmill, but something that is ty'd up to certain Rules and Orders, and kept tame: else, no Body would venture to come near it; for put the Case, I go to a Carpenter's Yard, and bespeak fifty Foot of Deal Board, and when they are deliver'd, I find he has sent me but forty: and thereupon I ask him, what Rule he measur'd by? and he says, his own Conscience: might it not reasonably be reply'd, that however his Conscience should have taken *Gunter's* Rule with it? and does it not appear plain, that I should have been in a lamentable condi-

Introduct. tion, without that equitable and conſcientious Contrivance?

P. But ſuppoſe that Rule ſhould be falſe?

T. Let the firſt that finds it ſo, go and tell the *Houſe of Commons*, and get another in the room on't, with all my Heart.

P. Thou art talking of dealings between Man and Man, but what ſay'ſt thou to a Man's dealings with himſelf? there he muſt be try'd by his own Conſcience.

T. And all the Tune the Pipers play'd was Toll! Toll! Toll! Toll! Toll! — I tell you again and again, *Phil*, you may erect what Court you pleaſe at home, and there you may Try your ſelf, and Condemn your ſelf, and Hang, and Draw, and Quarter your ſelf, if you pleaſe: but ſtill this ſhan't hinder you from appearing at either of the Courts of Conſcience at *Norwich* or *Glouceſter*, and fully ſatisfying the Milk-ſcorce or Chandler's Bill, tho' at a Court held in your own Belly, you had purg'd your ſelf already, and came off clear, and with Credit.

P. For my part, I can ſhift: but I plead for the Unskilful and Ignorant, who may be miſtaken, and yet are as Conſcientious as the beſt.

T. Look ye, *Phil*, I would have every Body get the beſt Information they can: 'tis true, 'tis not Knowledge but Application does the trick: yet without Knowledge, there's no doing neither; Now ſay I, either a Man may be miſtaken, or he may not be miſtaken: if he may not be miſtaken, then 'tis probable the Magiſtrate and his Followers are not miſtaken neither, for they are Men too, and then their way

way must be the best: but if People may be mistaken, then 'tis good for 'em not to trust themselves; but now according to you, there can be no such thing as Ignorance and Mistake on either side, for they are both to Judge for themselves: And a right to the End, that is, *Judging*, must suppose a right to the means, that is, *Sense and Wisdom*; and then again *the Judgment must be valid, because pronounc'd by a competent Authority*, still their own absolute, despotick *selves*. Introduct.

P. If it were otherwise, People would be damn'd for being ignorant.

T. So they will, if they affect it: for our Religion is at a great charge to instruct 'em: and whoever dissents from his Governours, must be wiser than they, otherwise he would take their advice, or must be throughly convinc'd, that what they teach others, they do not believe themselves; whereas now by your Rule, Ignorance is a Duty, nay 'tis certainly our best way to *burn* the *Bible*, or at least to prohibit the reading of it.

P. Why so?

T. Because when that's done, there would be still such a thing remaining as Conscience, and that, say you, would be sufficient with the profoundest Ignorance: Now what an insolent and presumptuous thing is it, to write and read? for the more reading the more Law, and consequently the more difficulty in obeying: Can't a Man satisfie his Conscience with two or three first Principles? he'll find work enough with them, whereas if he keeps forty *Tutors* in the House, he must hearken to none of 'em without leave of his Conscience.

Introduct.

P. Tell me, *Tim*, can any of his *Tutors* go to Heaven in his ſtead, or he in theirs? Or is Religion, like Land, entail'd and hereditary?

T. Who ever ſaid any thing like it? But however, if any of our Fore-fathers are gone to a good Place, as I believe ſome of 'um are, and we take the ſame Road, why may not we get thither too?

P. However I would have a Man ſatisfy'd in his way.

T. But a Man muſt be very ſtupid, that knows not one ſtep of the Road, nor yet has the Town in ſight, if he quit the *King's Highway*, and run over Brakes and Brambles on purpoſe to be ſingular: or elſe very uncharitable, if he does know a nearer and better Cut, not to diſcover it to thoſe that are behind; Therefore I would have *You*, and *Toland*, and *Aſgill*, and the reſt of you, by all means lay your Heads together, and contrive ſome new Syſtem, better than the old one if you can: But if inſtead of that, you only go and rake together a parcel of ſtale Stuff from *Hobbs*, *Spinoſa*, *Julian*, *Porpyhry*, *Milton*, and that Crew, with now and then a Novelty for diverſion, and then call this your Reaſon, and ſo back it with Conſcience, without ever examining the Reaſons of the *Church and her Authority*, and imagine this will juſtifie Faction, or bear you out in being obſtinate and troubleſome: No wonder, if ſometimes they refer you for Conviction to *Serjeant Powell* and *the Obſervator's Hog*, as well as to *Hooker* and *Stillingfleet*: for there's a neceſſity of putting an End to the Controverſie one time or another, and Magiſtrates are not always to be diſpu-

disputing; where our Governors have found real Faults, they have been convinc'd, and order'd a *Reformation*: Now do you take your turn, and let 'um for once convince you: Must you be always better than they? No, in no wise; Will you be try'd by the Law? The Judges of that Law best understand it: for your Consciences may be too tender, or too hard, but the Law is Holy, and Just, and Good: and by our Constitution, *Truth* like *Justice*, passes through so many Hands, that 'tis hard she should come off so very clearly, if there had been any material Objection made against her. Introduct.

P. Tell me, *Tim*, What do'st thou mean by Conviction in these Cases?

T. Such as they had, who from affronting Authority, were at last brought *to believe and tremble*——Don't mistake me, *Phil*, we allow all Men to be as wise as they please, and to communicate their Wisdom, and to reform us as often as there is need: But let me tell you, Things in Calves Leather, tho' *Folio*'s, are not always Reasons and Arguments, neither is every Book an *Answer*, tho' it has that for its Title, and ingross'd too in the largest Text.

P. True, but who shall judge whether 'tis so or no?

T. Nay 'tis a rare Time for you, if you are at a loss to find *him*: I thought some of you had known *him* by Experience.

P. Ay, but who ought to be? Can one Man judge another's Conscience?

T. I tell you, such a Conscience is only a private Judgment, and must yield to the Publick——For do but Answer, Do's the Action

Introduct. ſanctifie the Conſcience; or the Conſcience the Action?

P. Look ye, *Tim*, if a Man does a Thing with a good Intent, which to others is a Sin, yet to that Man 'tis not ſo.

T. But is not then that Man's Conſcience weak, diſtemper'd, and out of order?

P. Who doubts it?

T. And when it is ſo, is it not as miſchievous as a fear'd Conſcience? For that perhaps, as it has little regard for God, ſo it may have no more for the Devil: but a crazy Animal Conſcience, ſuch as makes a Man ſtart at a Surplice, boggle at a Bellfrey, and like an *Indian* Conſcience, makes the poor Devote fight for an Elephant's Tooth or the Muſtacho's of a *Bracman:* Such a Conſcience is the *Leviathan*'s proper Sphere, to play and gambol and take his Paſtime therein: And therefore the beſt Method to be uſed with it, is to put it under the care of able and approv'd *Phyſicians*, and ſuch as are ſet apart for the Purpoſe, and not by repairing to Quacks and Mountebanks.

P. But then here's the Pinch, theſe Men may be wrong as well as he.

T. Why, would you have 'um go to *Infallibility?* Can you direct a Friend to him? Or can you tell where he Shows? I promiſe you, I'll give you a *Noggin* for a good handſom View of him.

P. Beſides, no Man can be convinc'd till 'tis with his own conſent: nor can publick Determinations reach all particulars.

T. Nay for that, which the Publick has not meddl'd with, let every private Man take to

to himſelf, and much good may it do him, and in theſe Matters let him be as ſcrupulous of his Conſent as he pleaſes: but for thoſe Caſes, which the Publick has already determin'd, and which his own good would not permit to lye undetermin'd, and which ſtand confirm'd by the Reaſons of its Advocates, and the Overthrow of its Adverſaries: If notwithſtanding all this, the Magiſtrate can't paſs Sentence upon Felony, without repeating all *Puffendorf*, or teach a Child the *Nicene Creed*, without firſt giving all Biſhop *Bull*'s Reaſons for't, I think he had better fairly lay down, and let private Conſciences fight it out among themſelves. Introduct.

P. I don't much apprehend that Conſequence, for my Neighbour has no reaſon to quarrel with me, becauſe my Conſcience and his are not in the ſame Opinion.

T. Perhaps ſo: but yet, 'tis plain Right and Wrong never dwell peaceably together: and when they fall out, 'tis but pleading Conſcience in the higheſt Acts of Villany and Injuſtice, and the War can never be at end.

P. Ah! *Tom*, thou know'ſt I foreſaw that Objection.

T. Ay, ſo you did: but however if I had been you, I would have paſs'd it by, unleſs I had likewiſe foreſeen a better Anſwer.

P. You don't like it I find: That's Envious and Impudent.

T. Nay there are three Anſwers, that's true, and yet I can't tell on which you depend moſt: For *Firſt*, You put the Caſe, and *then* you fall to doubting whether there ever was ſuch a Caſe or no, that is, whether ever Men plead-

Introduct. ed Conſcience for being Villains—— And are you this doubty Hiſtorian, and never read *Baker*, nor *Speed*, nor *Clarendon* himſelf tho' you quote him, nor ſo much as *Æſop*'s Fables, for there the *Fox* pleads Conſcience I remember in an Action of Battery?

P. But obſerve, all this happen'd becauſe of the Doctrine of Perſecution, which makes Men play the Devil for God's ſake.

T. That I muſt own is a Caſe that rarely happens, for Men to play the Devil——And for God's ſake too——But pray now, in whom does this ſame Doctrine produce theſe rare Effects, in thoſe that hold it, or thoſe that ſuffer by't?

P. Queſtionleſs in thoſe that hold it.

T. Why then, I hope they'll plead Conſcience too for this their Doctrine of Perſecution:

P. Oh, to be ſure.

T. And yet I warrant, you count this ſame Doctrine a Piece of the higheſt Villainy and Injuſtice.

P. Ay, and will prove it too.

T. Strange and ſurprizing! For now, the reaſon why this Caſe does ſometimes happen, that Men plead Conſcience in the higheſt Acts of Villany and Injuſtice, is becauſe, *They do ſometimes plead Conſcience in Perſecutions*, that is, *in the higheſt Acts of Villany and Injuſtice:* And all this will become ſo much the ſtranger, if you would but tell us, how any one can commit the higheſt Acts of Villainy and Injuſtice without the Doctrine of Perſecution.

P. Thou

P. Thou *Timothy Jackanapes!*—I can scarce forbear——

T. The Doctrine of Persecution I suppose——But your solving the Case, is full at as convincing, as your stating it was strange and surprizing—I enquire for instance, such a Conscience be excusable before God?— *Yes*—say you—*If it has done its best to rightly inform'd:* As if it were very difficult to be inform'd in Acts of the highest Villany and Injustice, or that Murder and Adultery could be scrupl'd at, till a Man had first consulted the *Chapter* or spoken with the *Professor*—— *Lastly*, say you, *Neither must the Magistrate punish unless some Person be injur'd thereby:* Supposing, that the highest Acts of villainy and Injustice could be committed, and yet no body the worse for 'um.

P. Where 'tis so, let the Magistrate strike; for I would have no Man's Civil Rights invaded on pretence of Religion.

T. Ay, but if you had gone and consider'd with your self, that every Man's chusing his own Religion would naturally breed Differences and Disputes in Religion, *which, say you are the same with the Civil*, and that these could never be for the Good of the State: Then you would have readily consented, that the Magistrate should have Power to restrain 'um, let Conscience say what it will: For Conscience is a Church Consideration, *and all such are to give way to the State.*

P. I see what thou would'st be at, thou art for *a Church established by Law.*

T. Why

Introduct.

T. Why not? I have known Iniquity
bliſh'd by a Law, Why ſhould not Right
neſs take its turn?

P. But this very Notion deſtroys
Church.

T. Wonderful!— What does Eſtabli
the Church deſtroy it?

P. Moſt certainly: For wilt thou cal
a Church, that encourages Knavery and
lany? Now obſerve, *Tim*, the tacking o
Preferments to certain Opinions, with a
couragement to all that Diſſent from
muſt needs make a Man take theſe Opi
however falſe, for true, without conſ
Conſcience: And this ſerves only to mak
Knaves and Villains.

T. Look ye, *Phil*, Villainy and Knave
Preferments of themſelves, and can
well enough without a Settlement by
or a Penſion for Life: and if you de
leave Men without Temptations, you
e'en Ship 'um off for another World; B
muſt the Laws be ſuppos'd to tempt
be Villains and Knaves? I thought th
been ſo, who had liv'd without Law.

P. No *Tim*, 'tis Conſcience is their
and no other can determine them.

T. What then, they that made the
had no Conſciences?

P. They might for themſelves, bu
Conſcience is not the meaſure of a
Mans: and therefore 'tis unreaſonab
them to eſtabliſh any thing as good
by a Law, or annex Rewards and Puniſ
to that Law, thereby obliging the Con

bers, who dare not dissent, and so must *Introduct.*
aves, or dare not declare, and so must
ypocrites.

All this must needs be true: And I can't
ine, how I came to miss it; Good Fa-
! By what tyrannical Hands and Engines,
Free Thinking and the generous Liber-
of Nature thrown down, and *Newgate*
ed in the room of't, to keep inn poor
ciences with Bars of *Iron*, that could not
ept out with [a] Bars of *Wood?* Surely
the very Ruins of Nature was *Bridewel*
lish'd, to confine Wenches from their
and good natur'd Mortals from the Mul-
ation of their Species; whereas if these
put down, there are those in *Holbourn*,
are now oblig'd to hold the Highway Sa-
that can scarce travel by St. *Giles*'s with-
ear, or ride to *Bagshot* without a super-
ns Veneration for Stage-Coaches, and a
le Awe to Cloak-bags, who would then
dare to *dissent*, and be no longer *Knaves:*
there are those of the other Sex in the
Market, that would soon unmuffle, and
longer *Hypocrites.*

[a] *See* Lister's *Journey to Paris.*

Nay, *Tim*, where the Publick Good is
ern'd, let the Magistrate strike.

Why the Law never undertakes to esta-
, but where the Publick Good is con-
d.

Besides, we were talking of Establish-
the Church, and thou art got to the F
on of *Newgate* and *Bridewel.*

For that matter, *Phil*, they are
ly necessary to the Constitu

Introduct. *Church*, as the *Bellfrey* and *Chancel*: and for those two Ecclesiastical occasional Engines in *Cornhil* and *Cheapside*, they seem to be Pillars: and begging Sir *Christopher*'s Pardon, are as necessary to the support of *Pauls* as the *Doriel* or the *Corinthian*.

P. But where's Conscience all this while?

T. In the Pillory: and if it be a scrupulous one, I'd have it aspire no higher: but if it happens to be sear'd and obstinate, I fancy there's no harm in showing it the shortest way to another legal Establishment, commonly call'd, *Tyburn*.

P. But suppose under that Title you should condemn a tender Conscience?

T. It can't be: for a tender Conscience may make to it self as many Laws, beside the Publick, as it pleases, but it can never break any for a tender Conscience is tender of Obedience, tender of Peace, tender of the Publick but when once it undertakes to correct the Magistrate, to be rough with Superiors, and to despise Dominion: tho' such a Conscience may pretend to be as soft as Pap, and as rotten as the *Rump*, yet the *Forehead* that belongs to't, is as hard as *Brass*.

P. And yet it may contradict publick Determinations, and be in the right by so doing.

T. But then, *the Reasons? The Reasons!* For if this same tender Conscience be really tender of the Publick Good, and tender of its Brethren, 'twill be ready to inform them as well as its self: and not sit in the *Dumps* and *Sullens*, and never agree to any thing nor yet show *why* nor *wherefore*; For observe, no body blames *Luther* and *Cranmer* for dissenting

since

hey have told us their Reasons: and if Gardiner
nd *Bonner* could have answer'd 'em upon
ther ground but *Smithfield*, the Reforma-
nust have been put off, tho' the Rent in
al's Breeches had been as wide as his
nions; Now if after this we don't think
reform any further, 'tis because neither
the Preacher, nor *Daniel* the Politician,
et certainly made it appear, that the Li-
was compos'd by *Merlin*, or demon-
the Surplice to be the *Whore of Baby-*
Nightrial.

I see plainly, *Tim*, thou mak'st a Trap
Law, when a Man's inn, there he must
neither Reason nor Conscience can help
ut again.

I tell you, *Phil*, we are not angry with
dy for breaking Company, but because
ive no better reason for't; 'Tis true
People are pinch'd, they'll call the Law
hat they please, a *Gin*, a *Cobweb*, *Shears*,
me, or by your Name, *Trap*: and yet I
raid, should I break your Windows, lie
your Sister, or drub your Person, you
be heartily glad to trap me at *Common*
or sheer me in *Chancery*, or spread a Net
in *Doctors Commons*: and when once I
, you would scarce let me out again,
cry'd Conscience never so loud, till
ent and Execution.

Thou talk'st of the Civil Trap, and I
Ecclesiastical.

Why one's much like t'other you
ere made for *the Beasts and Vermin*
: and 'tis strange they should
t of't into your State of Nature,

Introduct. they may claw and tare one another as they pleaſe: Whereas now with us, there are *Trap*ſetters on purpoſe to keep the Peace: Beſides, there's as much room as in the Iſle of *Pines*: And this I'll ſay for our Trap, 'tis as well baited as *Mahomet*'s, or e'er a Trap of 'um all.

P. And theſe Trapſetters muſt have Pow'r to preſcribe what Laws they pleaſe to the Priſoners: to make Creeds, and Articles, whereby Sects and Parties ariſe, and Men are taught for God's ſake to perſecute one another.

T. And will you be poſitive, that the Law makes Parties? Or is it not, think you, the ſuſpending of the Penalty? Or are you ſure that Creeds and Articles make Sects? Or may it not upon ſecond Thoughts appear, that Sects make Creeds and Articles? There's the Articles of our Trap: What needed that of the Supremacy, were it not for the Sect of *Tories* and *Fifth Monarchy Men?* Or that of the Communion, in both kinds, were it not for a Sect of Sots that keep the Glaſs to themſelves? Nay even the firſt Article of all, might have been ſpar'd, but for *You* and *Hobbs* and *Spinoſa*.

P. Nay, what the Trapſetters have enacted, muſt, right or wrong, be defended, and that at all Hazards and Adventures.

T. Do but once prove, *Phil*, that the Trapſetters are in the wrong, and then we'll liſten to you: but if they are in the right, why ſhould they not enact it, and oblige the People to ſtand by 'um in't?— You have heard of ſuch a thing as *Zeal*, han't you?

P. Yes, and known the diſmal Effect of't.

T. Na

T. Nay, 'twill do strange things, that's certain: 'twill eat a Man up, and then make him devour his Neighbours; 'Tis this very political Notion, that has peopl'd those two Traps of *Newgate* and *Bridewell* we talk'd of just now: Nay there are *twelve red hot Zealots* that sit on purpose in *Westminster-Hall*, to treat *Christians* barbarously and inhumanly upon this very Account: And the silly slavish *Tipstaves* and *Serjeants*, and the ignorant Country *Sheriffs* and *Bum-bayliffs*, have no more to do than to take their Parts and bear 'um out in't. Introduct.

P. No, 'tis the Clergy, the Trapsetters, that stir up the Passions of all they can influence, against those that dissent from 'um: Which appears from this one Consideration, that no such Effects follow from Mens dissenting in Opinions, where the Clergy have no interest.

T. To me now just the contrary appears, from that very Consideration; —— God be thanked, 'tis pretty hard to meet with a Time, in which the Clergy had no Interest: However about sixty Years ago there was such a Time, and a very considerable one too: Then the Vermin mutiny'd, broke the Trap, and beset the Owners, and plunder'd 'um of all their Baits: and yet for all that, the *Presbyterian Rat* persecuted the *Independent Polecat*, and the *Latitudinarian Weesle* domineer'd over the *Quaking Mouse*: Insomuch that when that scoundrel sort of Animals, call'd *Men*, had utterly forsaken the Trap, the Horses and Cows, and better Species, very fairly enter'd and took to't.

Introduct.

P. Prithee, *Tim*, what doſt thou mean by *Baits?* People in my Opinion ought to be free in the choice of their Religion, and therefore all Aws and Bribes are to be avoided.

T. How! Why you are ten thouſand times worſe then I thought you were! A *Jeſuit*, did I ſay? I proteſt, I begin to think you downright *Pagan:* Nay, I can't but believe you as great a Heathen as *Diogenes* or *Plato:* For I'll warrant, you hold *Vertue to be its own reward*, and all that? I wonder'd indeed, how you came to have ſuch a horrid Averſion to the *Fifth Commandment:* whereas 'tis plain now 'twas becauſe it had a huge Bribe at the End on't; Mercy on us! What will the Country Clergy do, if they muſt talk no longer of Joys and Torments? Why at this rate, he, that cry'd *Life and Death about* the Streets, had certainly a deſign upon the World: And that other noble Perſon, who undertook to inſure Elections, and now and then a Place in the *upper Houſe*, muſt have had a very good *Committee* indeed, to have brought him off on an Impeachment of Bribery.

P. Thou art talking of Futurity, but I ſpeak of the Preſent.

T. Nay a Bribe's a Bribe, whether it be down in Hand, or only with promiſe of Payment: Beſides, if the great huge Governour of all, deſigns Vertue ſhall take all hereafter; I ſee no reaſon, why his Deputies and Viceroys ſhould not ſhew her ſome ſmall reſpect in the mean time.

P. But obſerve, *Tim*, all Magiſtrates have equal Power and Authority: And then, if one eſtabliſhes one Religion, another may eſtabliſh another.

T. That

T. That must needs be: for as all Magi- Introduct.
strates are equally powerful, all Religions are equally true: and so let the *Alcoran* stand as firm as the *Gospel*, for belike they have both the same Evidence.

P. Nay *Tim*, I don't so much oppose the Magistrate's establishing his own Religion, as that he establish it exclusive of all others.

T. Shall we vote a *Comprehension?*

P. In Justice I think we ought.

T. Gramercy then! And now my little Lads, you need take no further care, you are all provided for: Because says *Phil*, if but Two or Three of you can agree together about a Religion, you make a complete Church, and either of the Two or Three in this Church, may preach, or all of 'um by turns: and for this the Magistrate must see 'um as well paid as his own establish'd Preachers: and One in Ten being already dispos'd of that way, there will soon be Custom enough for the other Nine; A rare Method this, to enrich the Nation, for all her Majesty's loving Subjects may turn Preachers, and then in the twinkling of a Text they all become *Freeholders*.

P. This is all prate, *Tim:* What I drive at, is to bring things to a Ballance: I don't hint any Church, but I'd have the Magistrate be equally kind to all: You see what variety of Trades there is, and yet Trade and all its several kinds are equally in the Protection of the Magistrate.

T. That's true, and the Reason of it is, because all Professions of what sort soever, whether Brick-layers, Basketmakers, or Broom-merchants, are all parts of the same Trade national and

Introduct. publick, which is thus divided into Part: Branches, becauſe *Jack of all Trades* is a difficult and ſcandalous Profeſſion: N you can venture to ſay, 'tis juſt ſo wit Duties of Religion, there's an end o Diſpute: For inſtance, if Mercy be the Total of a *Butcher*'s Religion, if Faith out Works will ſave an *Almanack-mak* Truth be ſo inſeparable from the *Long* that they can never impart any of it to Clients: then let all theſe Particulars joi gether and make one general Religion, the Magiſtrate ſhall look took't with bot Eyes: but if really the *Bank of England* much oblig'd by the *Second Commandme* either of the *India Companies:* And i Nymph that has ſlain twenty Lovers, m as humble as the Drab that has kill'd Troopers: As you can't tell, but it may then would I have you lay aſide all thoughts of Trade, for 'twill never thriv you or any of your Family.

P. Not ſo faſt, *Tim:* Is there no way think to bring things to an Equality?

T. Why, ſuppoſe the Inventors of Religion were to give inn their Creeds an ticles to the *Exchequer:* and accordi Religions increas'd, the Year ſhould be di into as many parts, as there were For Worſhip: and ſo the whole oblig'd to ſe ſo many Days for *Calvin*, ſo many for *S* and ſo many for *Muggleton:* and accord the *Almanacks* ſhould tell the various Ch of *Faith* and *Weather*, and ſet proper Col apart for *Creeds* and *Herbals*; Here wo Charity, Latitude, and Comprehenſion:

Mars and *Presbytery*, *Venus* and *Mahometism*, *Luna* and *Low-Church*, *Saturn* and the *High-flyers*, *Popery* and *the Dragon's Tayl*, should jog on lovingly together. Introduct.

P. I don't like this neither, I would have every one stick to his own.

T. By no means, he must get one or two more of his Opinion, or he can never make a Church.

P. Nay, if he is singular, his own Conscience will justifie his Choice.

T. And he becomes a true Church, does he? I have heard indeed that the *Body* has been call'd a *Temple:* And I think you tell us pag. 139. *That a Man may join himself to no Church, and yet be a good Churchman for all that*, which must be by making a Church of himself.

P. Ay, and such a Church too, as is intitled to all the Promises in Holy Scripture, and answers all those Meanings which the Name of Church does in Scripture import, for it always signifies some one or more of the People.

T. Why you are now ten times worse than before: Nay as bad as *the Dragon of Wantly*— For

Houses and Churches
Were to him Geese and Turkeys,

Whereas now you can make a Church of the *Clark* or *Sexton*, or any of the Congregation.

P. And why this upon me, *Tim?*——Wilt thou never have done prating? Dost thou not believe, that where Two or Three meet together

Introduct. gether in our *Saviour*'s Name, they make a Church?

T. And yet I cannot think, that all the *Twos* and *Threes* that get together in that manner, are a Church.

P. Why so?

T. Because tho' they meet in his *Name*, they may try to destroy his *Nature*.

P. But has he not promis'd to be in the midst of 'um?

T. True, and so he is: but 'twere better for some of 'um, he were further off.

P. But I mean so amongst 'um, as to approve: I mean a *gracious Presence*; Now what he approves, why may not the Magistrate establish?

T. So let him, if he will: As thus, Here at one End of the Town stands the *Church*, and there the *Parson* gives out, that he and his Folk are positively in the Right on't: nay and he undertakes to prove it too: And for Schismaticks, he shakes the Dust of his Feet at 'um; Close by the Market-place, the *Presbyterian* sets up, and he too is Right, and desires to be believ'd: But when he comes to talk of those, that forsooth dissent from him, they are all Wrong to be sure, and he calls the *Lord* to Witness against 'um; Over the way, perhaps, are the *Quakers*, and they are pass'd the Power of being mistaken, Infallible, but not the least inclin'd to *Popery*: And all are Wicked, all are Sinners, the Saints (meaning themselves) excepted; Not far off, sits grumbling in a Corner, *the Fifth Monarchy Man*: He that like the Devil, complements his Maker with the Kingdoms of this World,

ht

Tho' with a little more Modesty than your *Trincalo* us'd to *Stephano*, provided he may be *Viceroy* under him: and then he damns all but himself, and is ready to lug out on the Gainsayer, and execute part of the Sentence; Now if you'll believe these People, they must needs be all in the Right, and musts needs be also all in the Wrong: All which must be approv'd above, and establish'd below: Whereas if all the Churches in the World should aver it, if the Stones should cry it out from the Wall, and the Beam from the Timber answer it, if *Apostles*, *Prophets*, *Kings*, *Parliaments*, *Councils* and *Convocations*, should all Vote it unanimously, yet would I still remain till Death, a Heretick to their Revelations, and a Rebel to their Laws. Introduct.

P. Nay I have found thee Infidel enough, that's certain——In the mean time, for Man to undertake to enforce Religion by a Law, is contrary to the divine Will, inconsistent with the Honour of God, who requires no more than an impartial Examination, and therefore all secular Establishments must certainly tend to hinder the grand Duty of Consideration.

T. I tell you over and over again, *Phil*, that what the Magistrate has establish'd, was examin'd and consider'd long before you and I were born: and yet not so, as to bar After-Discoveries and New-Lights, provided they gave a good Account of themselves; Tho' notwithstanding all this, we humbly conceive the Bible is not in the same Circumstances with other Books, and may reasonably be excus'd from *Prefaces* and *Introductions*, or from addressing the *Candid Reader*, *and requesting his Favour*,

Introduct. *that in perusing, examining, and considering the insuing Sheets, he would deal courteously and benignly, for they are submitted entirely to his Judgment and Approbation:* and if it happen to set on thus——*In the beginning God created the heaven*, We desire People would take this of course without resorting to *Tycho* or *Copernicus:* And as for the *Ten Commandments*, we permit Men to examine themselves by 'um, and to consider 'um as much as they can afford to do, but if any body should go about to boggle at the *Fifth* or the *Eighth*, till he were well satisfy'd in the Matter from *Puffendorf* and *Hale's Pleas of the Crown:* Or should desire to be excus'd from obeying his Superiours, till he had throughly examin'd *Sydney* and *Harrington:* We should readily suspect such a one of a crack'd Brain, and if he were equally sawcy to a Gentleman or a Man of Honour, he would also run no small hazard of a broken Head.

P. So, *Tim*, I find we are come to points of Honour, to Forms and Decorums: I don't question, but thou'lt tell me they are of Divine Right too, and worth all the Noise and Contest that has been made about 'um.

T. I don't find, *Phil*, there is any Contest about 'um.

P. No? where hast thou liv'd, *Tim?* 'Tis true indeed they deserve none, for you allow 'um to be indifferent.

T. Ay, just as Cloath Buttons were: that is, before the Statute came out; besides, we fancy that Order and Decency are not so indifferent as you would make 'um: And w[illegible]

think you of Publick Worship? Will you please to allow that to be necessary? Introdu

P. Absolutely.

T. Well then, and can you carry this on without *Sanderson*'s Budget of *Accidents*, the Time, the Place, the Manner, and Habit?

P. But I would have these left to every ones discretion.

T. Nay, then 'twould be done in rare order, no doubt on't; Prithee, *Phil*, did you ever learn to write?

P. Humh! I think I have.

T. And was not your first Copy that celebrated Axiom, *As many Men, so many Minds?* Now unless you can be certain, they'll do as the Folk did at *Pines*, meet together by chance, and agree together, and pray together, and all as it should be: there will be a necessity of a Bell and a Clock in the *Steeple*, as well as *Town-House*: of a Surplice as well as a Bar-Gown: unless you fancy, that Religion was design'd to spoil good Breeding, and won't allow half the Discipline in a Church, that is usual at a *Leet* or *Petty Sessions*; and yet in one part of your Creed, speaking of your God, you do say, *he is a God of Order and not of Confusion.*

P. But whose right is it to prescribe? you see the People have a right to the Worship of God, which is the End: now if they have a right to the End, they must have a right to the Means, that is, the Form and Manner must be at their disposal.

T. I protest, *Phil*, you can scarce lay your hands upon a Maxim, or first Principle, but 'tis the worse for you ever after; there's that

Axiom now: 'twould have formerly help'd a Man to the *Great Seals* or a *Presentation*, whereas since you have been tampering with it, 'twon't give a Man a Crust of Bread and Cheese, or a *Winchester* of Small Drink: for tho' a Man may have a right to 'um, as the *End*, yet he shall not therefore have a right to the *Means*, that is, the way to come at 'um: for if he breaks his Neighbour's Cellar or Cupboard, there will be others found that will be sure to hold him.

P. Why, *Tim*, art thou so unreasonable, to think that Men must not worship God at all, till their Governors have prescrib'd the Modes and Manner of Worship?

T. Till that be done, *Phil*, let 'um shift: and indeed they do shift, for prescribing without Penalty, is much one with not prescribing at all; but when Laws are once made, you are not then to tell People what they may do in a State of Nature.

P. And would'st thou, *Tim*, instruct me what to tell 'um?

T. Nay, I would not have you say any thing to 'um: as yet, they are well enough: for all that I know, you may advise 'um to break up and go to the *Alehouse*, or strip and to Cricket in the *Church-yard*.

P. Why so? dost thou take me for an Enemy to publick Worship?

T. Prithee what do you think of your self? Can there be publick Worship without getting the People together? And how will that be done? For if you *Whistle* for 'um, that's a *Ceremony*: and if you call by a *Speaking Trumpet*, that's little better than an *Organ*: Nay,

if they ſhould meet all by the *Spirit* (as they ſay Witches do, and truly I can't ſee without Witchcraft how that ſhould happen) yet they can't pray in quiet for you. Introduct.

P. For me! Prithee what do I to 'um?

T. Why han't you gone and told 'um, *there can be no ſuch thing as a Repreſentative in Religion?*

P. What then?

T. How can they ſhift without one? Either they muſt have one to pray for the Congregation, and in their Names, and then he is their Repreſentative: Or elſe they muſt all pray by themſelves, and then 'tis not publick Prayer: or elſe all together, as loud as ever they can bawl; and that muſt be by a Form, which it ſeems you don't approve of neither: or elſe every one for himſelf, and then we ſhould have ſuch jangling and variety of Petitions, that tho' *Omniſcience* might hear 'um all, yet *Omnipotence* could never relieve 'um.

P. I ſhall be a fine Fellow anon, *Tim*, when thou haſt dreſs'd me after thy own Faſhion.

T. Nay, for my part, what you do to live at quiet I can't tell, conſidering how many *Conſciences* and *Bayleys* are ſtirring; well, *Old England*, ſay I, for Hoſpitality! for I dare ſwear, ſhould you travel, *Switzerland* it ſelf would ſcarce hold you.

P. Don't prate, I ſay: but now thou talk'ſt of foreign Churches, thou may'ſt obſerve their Ceremonies differ from ours, and yet no Body finds fault with them: they may be as whimſical as they pleaſe.

T. Ay,

T. Ay, and the great Advantage of h whimsical, appears in nothing more, than a Man is not accountable for such things: must indeed give a Reason of his *Faith*, by no means of his *Humour*; Now I ta as already agreed, that the Soul is the on or Habit of a Man: by which System, Conscience must be either the Cloak, the ding Coat or the Morning Gown: so the *Form* or *Cut* of a Cloak, and a *Poi Case* of *Conscience*, are Terms Synoni and signifie one and the same thing: Su sing that any of my Neighbours thin to *cut*, *satisfie*, or *decide* their Cloak the *Scotch*, *Dutch*, or *French* Model, that of *Geneva*, tho' perhaps I may th never so clumzy, yet 'tis their fancy much good may it do 'um: for my part, no more reason to come behind 'um un and cut their Capes off, or sew 'um tog or nail 'um to the Bench, or chalk *Cr* their Backs, than they have to challen for rolling my Stockings, or to cite m the *Arches* for wearing blew Breeches.

P. Oho! *Tim*, art thou tacking abou

T. Yes, that I am, and as a step to ty, I ask you the same Question ab *Oath* of *Supremacy*, you were pleas'd to me just now.

P. And I return the same answer, I h ken it.

T. And did you not thereby renou foreign *Prelates*, *States*, and *Potentates* then have we to do with the Ceremon *Geneva* here in *England*? If they have *Hats* and *Cloaks*, why may not our *Queen*

le *Scarfs* and *Square Caps?* Sure ſhe's as good as they, or any of their Generation. Introduct.

P. But, *Tim*, I would have neither of 'um undertake to ſettle any thing of this Nature: for at this Rate, the ſecular Power may ſettle ſuch a form as is diſpleaſing to God.

T. Talk no more of what may be done, but what is done: Do you think all the Policy in the World can prevent *Maybe*'s? How do I know, but this very Night all the Wives in *England* may pick their Husband's Pockets, and ſo lower the *Bank-ſtock* and *Mine-adventures?* Or to morrow Morning all the Maſtiff Dogs *may* riſe, and ſeize upon all the Current Beef of the Kingdom? But can you prove that what the Magiſtrate has ſettled, is diſpleaſing to God? Can you ſay, that all *the Church Triumphant* (and they have no *Diſſenters*, but the damned and reprobate) do certainly abhor *White?* If ſo, away with the *Surplice*; Or did you make a viſit to the Souls under the *Altar*, and upon a cloſe view found it to be a *Table?* If ſo, down with that Pagan Edifice; Or are you verily perſuaded that *Belzebub* and his Crew were expell'd the Spheres for their *Harmony?* If ſo, we'll have no other Muſick than that of the *Noſe*; but if you can prove nothing of all this, and in the mean time, you don't know, but that a *Maſter* of many *Arts* may hold forth as powerfully as he that only underſtands *Weaving*, or that a *Steeple-houſe* may not hold as many Saints as a *Barn*, and the *Homilies* be ſet to as good a *Tune* as *Dyer* and *Baxter:* in this State of Equality, if the Magiſtrate ſteps inn, and encourages one ſide, and will but juſt allow the

Introduct. the other to be *tolerable:* I cannot ſee, why he who has Sworn *Supremacy*, may not eaſily thruſt inn his Conſcience to the *Act of Uniformity*, unleſs he value his Conſcience as ſome Ladies do their Conſtitutions, for being weak and ſplenatick, ſqueamiſh and qualm-ſick.

P. But why muſt there be all this Contention about Ceremonies? is the Surplice preferable to Peace, or the Altar deſign'd to Sacrifice Men upon?

T. No, certainly: we never contended for any ſuch thing, *Phil:* we and the *Diſſenters* don't ſtand upon Ceremonies, 'tis not that which parts us: but we find none of us all can live without 'um, ſo we only happen to differ a little about *who ſhall preſcribe*, that's all: or in plain *Engliſh*, who ſhall govern and be uppermoſt; Now it ſo falls out, that we are in Poſſeſſion, and we are ſuch fools as to think of keeping it: As for *Legion*, they have given us ſuch a confounded ſample of their Government, that if ever we let 'um inn again, *our latter State deſerves to be worſe than our firſt*.

P. E'en govern as you pleaſe: tho' I think it were proper to uſe no Forms, that tend to Superſtition: for the Magiſtrate ought to reſtrain that by Force.

T. Worſe and worſe! I find neither *Law*, *Goſpel*, nor *Toleration* can ſtand in your way.

P. Toleration! Prithee, *Tim*, how does the preſent Topick affect that? Can'ſt thou charge the Diſſenters with Superſtition? I am afraid thou ſcarce know'ſt what it is.

T. But now, if you would be ſo kind as to inſtruct me——I have heard indeed the *Pater-*

noſter

nofter Men charg'd with it, but I fancy their's is ſomewhat worſe. Introduct.

P. There, *Tim*, thou art in the right: 'tis not Superſtition to do that which is unlawful, under a Pretence that it is not: but 'tis rather the forbearing to do that which is lawful, under a pretence that it is ſinful: ſo that Superſtition is really an Uſurpation on God, undertakes to make Laws for him, and to preſcribe and to reſtrain, where God has left us at liberty.——Now apply this, *Tim.*

T. I ſhall, Sir, as faſt as ever I can: Here is the *Surplice:* if it be well waſh'd, it cannot chuſe but be clean enough: And I don't ſee, why a *Croſs* made with a wet Finger, ſhould not be a lawful Croſs, tho, one of the *Angles* happens to be *Obtuſe:* And yet as lawful as theſe things ſeem to be, you can no more get a *Diſſenter* near 'um, than a *Colt* to a *Cow-rack:* Tho' I can't find but they wear Shirts, neither does it appear they have any mortal averſion to Aprons, tho' the Surplice ſhould be a Remnant of the ſame Piece: Nay I perceive they build Houſes, and get Children, neither do they account of Taylors and Weavers as Hereticks and Apoſtates: tho' [1] *Juſtin Martyr* obſerves, that none of theſe Feats can well be perform'd without *Popery* and a *Crucifix.*

[1] *See his Apology.*

P. I perceive, *Tim*, thou reſolv'ſt never to be long in the right: for obſerve, Superſtition is to be charg'd upon thoſe, who ſay theſe things are injoin'd by God, and neceſſary to Religion, when in Truth they are not ſo.

T. And

Introduct.

T. And whoever pretended to say they were injoin'd by God? Has not the Church open'd her Mouth as wide as ever she could, and told you long ago, that she believes *no set of Ceremonies to be absolutely necessary, or of Divine Right?* But yet 'tis absolutely necessary, there should be some Ceremonies or other, and that 'tis absolutely necessary, Authority should be obey'd, when once it has injoin'd those it thinks most decent; But now comes the Dissenter, and he'll neither obey nor shew Reason for't: and if we only desire to know, which of the *Evangelists* has declar'd against Lawn, and what *Epistle* the Rochet stands condemn'd in: he cries *Popery! Popery! Popery!* and yet upon diligent search, we cannot find any such Book as that in all the *Canon*.

P. But can'st thou find any where in the Canon, that these things are commanded?

T. No, nor Cloaks, Bands, and *Lay-Elders*; methinks now the Bible is large enough a Conscience: it makes a very pretty figure on the *Reading-Desk:* and if we can but find any where between *Genesis* and the *Revelations*, that God is to be Worship'd: there's no need of any farther Revelation to inform us, that we must Worship him in a Time, a Place, and a Habit, for these follow of course.

P. But then I should think the Magistrate might establish such Ceremonies, as give least Offence: and not those that are *Popish* and Superstitious, and have been abus'd to evil and prophane Purposes.

T. Why, what would you have him do? are not Justice and Mercy *Popish* too, nay *Pagan* and *Heathenish?* and have they not been abus'd

s'd ſome time or other? Are not *Beef* and *dding Popiſh*, as well as Altars and Sur-ces? and may not, think you, the *Parſon* p a Milch Cow, tho' perhaps one of the urchwardens has heard of *Apis* and *Oſiris*? d may not his Wife make *Onion* Sauce to Shoulder of Mutton, without being ſu-ected for a *Gypſie?* Now 'tis a very hard ſe I muſt not go to Church, till I am firſt isfy'd in the Hour and the Day, that they Orthodox and Unſpotted, and ſuch as ne-had any Adultery or Fornication in 'um: perhaps they are the ſame, that the *Muſti* ls to Prayers in, or the *Indians* to *Pawpaw*-; and then for the place: how do I know t *St. Brides*, and *St. Bartholomews*, may for-rly have been Heatheniſh Temples, as well *St. Pauls?* And as for the Habit, if I offer a *Band*, that's *Popiſh*: for the *Jeſuits* and ficers of the *Inquiſition* are all thus *Collard*; I take a fancy to a *Gown*, that's the Trap-ngs of *the great Whore* of all: if to a *Cloak*, at's a Proverb for Knavery, and *Guy Faux* ore the Type of it at *the Gunpowder Trea-*: If I ſtrip to my *Waſtcoat*, that's the Dreſs Heatheniſh *Waſters* and Prophane *Morrice-neers*: If to my *Trewzes*, they too, I don't eſtion, will be found upon examination to ve filthy things in 'um: If I go Naked, that's rning *Adamite*, and putting on the *Old Man*, hich ought by all means to be laid aſide: ſo at when a Man has a mind to't, he may ruple any thing: and if the Magiſtrate muſt t determine till all Scruples are ſatisfy'd, can never paſs Sentence e'er he has taken e ſame Method with *Diſſenting Brethren*,

Introduct. that he usually does with *Dissenting Jurors*, keep 'um without Meat, Drink, Fire, and Candle, till they resolve to be unanimous in their Verdict.

P. I find thou art hard put to't, since thou fly'st to Force, and the Doctrine of Persecution.

T. I scorn your words, *Phil*, I hate Persecution worse than Rats-bane, and I never dip into *Fox*'s *Martyrs*, without singeing my Beard, and burning my Fingers.

P. That's kind: but now what dost thou think of those *Protestants*, who tho' they hate these Proceedings in their Forefathers, are yet ready to exercise the same towards their dissenting Brethren?

T. Think of 'um? They are all Caitiffs and Murderers.

P. That's a good *Tim!* there thou winn'st my Heart.

T. But now, *Phil*, I would know a little concerning these same Dissenting Brethren: do they really quote as many Texts, and produce as good Arguments for their Dissenting as did the good Folks in *Fox?*

P. Yes, in their own Judgment they do.

T. Humph! —— And perhaps their Enemies bring as good for persecuting them, that is, in their own Judgment too.

P. Prithee what need is there of much Reason in this Case? the Law of Nature protects every Man in the free exercise of his Religion.

T. Now in my opinion Religion is the same with *Revelation*, and that has no more to do with

with *Nature*, than I have with the *Countess* of *Puddledock*. Introduct.

P. Thou tack'st about very strangely, *Tim.*

T. So far from that, if the Dissenters can prove themselves in the right, let 'um not only be Tolerated, but encourag'd and plac'd uppermost: But if there be really something of a Conscience belonging to the Church, as you can't tell but there may, and this Conscience justifies her in the business of *Episcopacy*, *Tythes*, and *Uniformity*: since you allow every Body their way, I hope the Church may have the benefit of *Toleration*, and keep her own quietly.

P. But then, why must she Persecute her Brethren?

T. She can't do that, *Phil*: but she may punish her Subjects: and those Subjects are Fools, if they don't call it Persecution, if that will save their Bacon.

P. Prithee, *Tim*, what dost thou mean by Persecution?

T. Why, Sir, I do believe that Persecution in a *Low-Church Moderate* Sense, may import no more than the Stocks or Pillory: yet I question not, but *strictly* taken, it may signify a Halter.

P. Tory! Rory! is it not so, *Tim?*

T. And yet I fancy, a Man may be a very good *Whig*, nay as *Low* as can be devised, and for all that he may imagine, that the Law can as well oblige a Man to go to a Church with a Steeple in't, as to a *Court Baron*, tho' held in the *Market-house*: and may as soon compel a Man to hearken to a Parson, tho' clad in *White*, as to *Mr. Mayor*, tho' array'd in Furs.

Introduct.

P. But what becomes of Conſcience all this while?

T. Why, *Sir*, People may as well plead it to any of the Statutes in *Poulton*, as to *the Act* of *Uniformity*; don't you hear folk ſay, that Hares and Partridges are Creatures of a wild Nature, and do in Conſcience belong to all that can catch 'um? and yet this won't repeal the *Dog Act*; and may it not be reaſonably ſaid of this preſent *Parliament*, that they deſerve to be *Immortal?* and yet the *Triennial Act* is ſtill in force notwithſtanding.

P. Thou mak'ſt very light of Perſecution I find, *Tim.*

T. Look ye, *Phil*, you may if you pleaſe make it as terrible as can be: You may write a new *Martyrology*, and begin every *Chapter* with ſome dreadful Picture or other, full of Gridirons, Racks, Saws, Whips, Cauldrons and Gibbets: You may draw all the Poſtures in the *Inquiſition*, and ſtuff your Cuts with Hangmen, Jaylors and Tormentors, in Blew Sleeves and Muſtachoes, with long Labels in their Mouths, crying nothing but *Fire! Fury! Death! Hell? Blood*, *Wounds*, *and Thunder!* and yet when all this is done, it will not follow, but that the Magiſtrate may ſtill injoin, what the higher Powers have not forbidden, and forbid what they have not enjoin'd: and all the while *Newgate* ſhall ſtand juſt where it did, and *Tyburn* be never the nearer to St. *Giles*'s.

P. I think that's not pertinent to the Caſe, what the higher Powers have forbid or injoin'd: 'tis enough that even the Law of Nature won't allow of Perſecution.

T. Who

T. Who prates now, *Phil?* han't you gone, and made it out, that the State of Nature was a State, that had no Laws at all, no Compacts and Agreements, and such a State that we made all the haste that ever we could to get out of? And yet now we are fairly rid on't, and have got a good competent *Body* of *Statutes*, and are going on with more as fast as ever we can, you are hauling us back again into the old State, and twitting us with the Law of Nature, whereas in truth that same State of yours has not Law enough to hold a *Sheep-stealer*, or bind a *Pickpocket* to his good behaviour. Introduct.

P. However, I can't think any Man a *Protestant*, that talks of Persecution.

T. Now on my Conscience and Soul, I fancy you mean nothing more by a *Protestant*, than only such a one as opposes Popery, whether he be *Jew*, *Turk*, *Infidel*, or *Heretick* himself; and yet there are some things in *Popery*, besides Holy Water, that the Devil himself can't away with; tho' for my part, I had as live hear a Man plead Conscience to a *Halter of Beads*, as to one of *Hemp*: and he that undertakes to make a *Scare-Crow* of a Magistrate, let him if he pleases make his *God* of *Pycrust*.

P. And yet thou can'st not but think it very hard, *Tim*, that People should suffer for not conforming, till they are convinc'd.

T. Look ye, *Phil*, if the *Czar* should bring over a Colony of *Russians* and settle in *Sussex*; or the State should exchange some of our *Highlanders* for a few *South Americans*; I think it would be very hard, if the *Czar* or the

Impudent. upon their first coming over, should
Twelve Pence a Head for every *Sunday*
miss'd Church, or prosecute 'um in the
shop's Court for not being able to say the
and *Lord*'s *Prayer*.

P. And if thou wouldst deal thus hi
by Foreigners, I hope thou wilt be equ
obliging to thy Countrymen.

T. Why there may be some few Rea
for a difference, if you and I had but
enough to guess at 'um.——Besides, 'tis
Phil, to ha' done talking of Toleration,
there's no such thing amongst us, no
to be.

P. That's strange indeed!

T. Yet not so strange, as true: For
Grants and Allowances can never amo
a full Plenary *Toleration*, such as you
mind to; you see the *Chequer* won't e
the *Quaker* from his *Tythes*, tho' he be
so tender of his Purse and his Conscience;
the *bawdy Presbyterian* shall still be lia
the *Bishop*'s Court, if he make too free
his Neighbour's *Holland*, tho' he has
scientious Aversion to *Lawn*: Neither
Conscience excuse the *Fifth Monarchy*
from the *Oaths*, or the *Jacobite* from
Taxes: And for the *Leveller*, *Socinian*,
and *Epicurean*, should they set up and d
themselves, tho' they quoted Conscience
yet I believe the State has a Conscien
that would certainly lay hold on 'um.

P. And what would'st thou make o
this, *Tim*?

T. Not much: only it pleases me, tha
State should allow only such a Toleration,

ſo much of it as they think fit: and that they ſtill keep the Reins upon *Conſcience*: for I'm ſure, if he were once let looſe, I know not what would become of us. Introduct.

P. Thou art a very ſaucy Fellow, *Tim*, for undertaking to direct State Affairs.

T. And yet I fancy, were I a *Parliament Man*, I ſhould Vote juſt ſuch a Toleration as my Betters have contriv'd, and I do think I ſhould be able to give my Reaſons for't too: For firſt, I would conſider the great Number of the Diſſenters, and what cruſty ſort of Folk they are, if not pleas'd: Then I would ſeriouſly meditate on the Woollen Manufacture and Payment of Taxes: Neither would I forget the Statute of *Retaliation*, and ſo uſe thoſe kindly and with *Moderation*, that were famous for't themſelves: Beſides this, I would oblige 'um to be Civil, when their turn came to be uppermoſt: I would alſo recount, what Prophecies went before touching Diviſions and Differences, that were to ariſe in Religion, and I would take care not to baulk 'um: Then I would be ſure to keep up ſome Enemies to the Church, on purpoſe to exerciſe the Clergy and maintain Learning and Controverſie: Laſtly, I would do't for the ſame reaſon, that a Sheep-ſtealer is ever now and then pardon'd, or a Raſcal ſav'd from the Gallows.

P. Since then thou art for a Toleration as well as I, why muſt we differ, and why all this Noiſe and Prate?

T. Why, would it not vex one, to ſee People ſo beſotted, as to imagine that the Statute of *Uniformity* is a meer *Act* of *Parliament*, and yet at the ſame time, that the *Toleration* is a

Introduct. Law of Nature? And that People should plead a *Right*, when 'tis only a *Favour*: and such a one too, as is more our Goodness than your Desert; And therefore I would have Folks but have themselves a little modestly, and cry *Mercy*, and not *Moderation*: neither let 'em fancy that the Crime is the less, because the Penalty is suspended: for if the *Papists* and *Presbyterians* should Plot together, and blow up *Hell*: all Mankind would not therefore immediately become *Saints*; Let me tell you the *House of Commons* can't forgive Sins, tho they should Vote it with a *Nemine Contradicente*: and for my part, I should think there would be very little difference between an Indulgence from *Rome*, and one from the *Secretary's Office*.

P. That's smart upon the Government *Tim.*

T. Not at all: I'm sure, they don't pretend to't: and the Church can no more oblige 'um to enforce *the Second Commandment*, than the *Tenth*: or to punish *Covetousness* as much as *Idolatry*; for suppose an Act should pass against *Lying*, yet upon political Reasons it might be Superseded, if 'twere found to be prejudicial to Trade or so: And therefore you mistake me, *Phil*, I am for a Toleration as well as the best: but then I have heard of a few better Reasons for't, than are yet come to your Hands: for you are one of those admirable Adventurers, that are in the right and don't know't, and have a good Cause, but no wherewithal to carry it on.

P. Now I fancy———

T. I

T. I know what you fancy, *Phil:* to bubble me into a belief, that you are really for the Toleration, when you are all the while at the bottom a mortal Foe to't. Introduct.

P. I? Han't I done my best to justifie and defend it?

T. But when a Man of tolerable Sense undertakes to defend a thing, and then brings such Arguments as prove just the contrary, we presently know where to have him: for now say you, one of the main Reasons, why the Dissenters ought to be tolerated, is, *because they do no harm to the Publick by Dissenting:* Now I would fain know, which of all our Dissenting Clans is thus harmless to the Publick, or would be so, if it were let alone? Does not the *Quaker* deny *Oaths?* and yet how could Justice go forward, or *Prince Perkin* be kept out of the Nation without 'um? Does not the *Presbyterian* claim a Power Paramount to the State? *which;* say you, *is Treason*; Does not the *Independent* deny the *Ecclesiastical Supremacy?* And do not all of 'um renounce the *Lords Spiritual*, which are a part of the Constitution? Nay, do not all Dissentions in general, divide and weaken a Country, separate Interests, create such Feuds and Animosities as all the *composing Pamphlets* of a Ten Years growth can't moderate: and make Folk fight for a Religion, that's debas'd and corrupted, till she's scarce worth a bloody Nose? Now if your Maxims are good for any thing, *If all Church considerations must give place to the State*, then I see not why *the shortest Way* may not take place in good earnest, and all gainsaying Throats be immediately Cut

Introduct. or Strangled: Nay, the Church being apparently the majority, that is, the force of the Society, *All that will not go* with it, according to you, *Excommunicate themselves, and have no Title to protection.*

P. But observe, *Tim*, this is only in Matters Civil, for I except Religion.

T. True; But then you afterwards make Religious and Civil Matters to be the same: besides, the force of the majority was a right of Nature, prior to all Religion, who must not think to take place of her *Elder Sister.*

P. I profess, *Tim*, thou art as pretty a Tool as ever Priest had the handling of: thou hast swallow'd Forms and Ceremonies, and now I believe, the useless speculative parts of Religion won't much stick with thee.

T. However, they are like to stick, till I am better acquainted with um; and I can't tell how soon I shall, unless you explain: for sometimes I find they are call'd *points meerly Speculative*, sometimes *Speculative Opinions*, and by and by *Notions*: and then they are describ'd, *as useless to the Publick, prejudicial to the Soul, hard to be believ'd*, and not worth the Money we usually give for 'um.

P. And are there none such as these dost think in Religion? Can'st thou not guess out some of 'um?

T. Not readily: for with us now, all Points that are *meerly Speculative*, were always look'd upon to be *prejudicial to the Soul:* and I can satisfie you, *Sir*, we are a little more thrifty than to lay out our Money upon such Nick-nacks: for we hold generally, that notwithstanding what some Authors have said, *yet*

Faith

Faith without Works, will signifie no more, than Conformity without Occasion. Introduct.

P. I thought now you had a List of *Credenda*, a fardle of *Articles*, which you impos'd upon your Communicants, without Proof or Reason: And yet they that did not believe, were to be damn'd?

T. Nay, that *they, who will not believe, shall be damn'd*, is just as true as the *Gospel*, and no more: For I begin to smoak you now, you mean Matters of *Faith* and *Mysteries*, I suppose: but certainly you are misinform'd, some body has bely'd us to you, for we never impos'd any such thing upon any Body in our Lives: only if some of our Betters have ventur'd to declare such a thing, we quote them and tell the People of't, and yet they may chuse whether they'll believe it or no: however they may be advis'd a little, and if we should now and then cry, *Fire!* and prate of *Damnation*: still that's matter of *Faith* too, and they need not believe till they feel it.

P. But of what Use are these things?

T. Of what use? they are perhaps only Historical, and by way of Narrative: And yet every thing that's strange and surprizing, shan't presently be false: for suppose *Bishop Wilkins* had really improv'd some of his *Theorems* about the *Moon* into a solid Carr, a complete material Vehicle, which should have carry'd him thither to finish his Demonstration: and suppose he had hung his *Rochet* upon the *Moon*'s Horns, or Eclipst her with his *Cloak* before she was at Full, or had taken the Bush off the *Shepherd*'s Back to stop the Gap, and keep her from waneing, or had us'd any other way

to

Tails and *Cod-Heads*? And yet there's a
stery at the End of every One of 'um,
the Incision-knives in *Warwick-lane*, can
unfold it.

P. But are these Things, thou talk'
any ways necessary to the Good of Manki

T. Oh, absolutely: they were more
cially design'd to prevent Priestcraft: Fo
must know all Religion is in some me
Mysterious to all People: You see the
ness of *Episcopacy* is a Mystery to the *P*
terians, for they won't understand one
of it: and so is obedience to a *Leveller*
Green Sleeves to an *Adamite*: Nay you
self must allow the greatest Part of Rel
to be *Mysterious*, for I don't find you ri
comprehend it; Now there are with
Company of poring Priests, who prete
understand all these Things aright, and
be out in the least of 'um: and therefor
this pack of Pretenders should undertake
thing, and to keep 'um in awe as well as

P. All this while, *Tim*, I would fain know what a Myſtery is, can'ſt thou define it? Introduct.

T. *'Ware Net!*—For when you underſtood it, you'd ſwear 'twas no longer a *Myſtery*;—But however, I'll give you a negative Notion of't: *A Myſtery is that, which is the Image and Likeneſs of Nothing in Heaven above, or in the Earth beneath, or in the Water under the Earth:* And therefore look to your ſelf, for if you Worſhip any thing elſe 'tis Superſtition, and arrant *Popery*.

P. All this while, *Tim*, we have forgot the Bill that's drawn upon us: For here's a Reckoning charg'd, and we muſt pay for theſe *Myſteries* whether we deſign to have 'um or no.

T. Nay for that matter, you may turn Heathen, and yet that ſhan't diſcharge you of *Tyths*, any more than your turning *Commonwealths-Man*, ſhall excuſe you from the *Land-Tax*.

P. Now for my part, I muſt own I know not how to anſwer their Argument, who ſay, *That the State might as well chuſe* Speculative Opinions *for them, as take away any part of their Property for the Maintenance of thoſe Opinions.*

T. Nay their bare ſaying ſo is, indeed, ſuch an Argument, as is not eaſily anſwer'd: At leaſt, there's but one proper way for't, and that is, *By ſaying otherwiſe:* Tho' for my part, e'er my Tongue ſhould be idle upon this occaſion, I would venture for once to ſet it a going, and it ſhould tell 'um thus, That here are a Crew of *Gaugers*, *Exciſe-men* and *Superviſors*, that hold a Company of Speculations,

as

Introduct. as namely, that *a Cylinder is made by the Circumrotation of a Quadrangle*, and *a Cone is the Whirlygig of a Triangle:* Now seeing there is no reason, why every *Hostess* and *Landlord* should be oblig'd either to believe or learn such Notions, therefore they can't be depriv'd of any part of their Property for the Maintenance thereof, so that we'll Petition the *Parliament* and get 'um suppress'd.

P. And art thou such a Fool, as to think, the maintaining these Notions, is the only use of an *Exciseman?*

T. And are you such a Conjurer, as to find out, that we maintain the Clergy, only to prove *Substantial Forms*, or to justifie *Latimer's* Doctrine of the *Saffron Bag?*

P. But the Notions they pretend to, are common to all: Why then must they be paid for 'um?

T. That is, *Sir*, because some of these Notions are their particular Properties, and such as we can't well shift without: and yet they are not to be had any where else; And therefore you have no more reason to quarrel with the State for securing *Priestcraft* to the Proprietors, than for securing any other *Craft* or Mystery whatever: or to blame our Kings for making a Monopoly of Divinity, rather than for granting Patents to *Holman* and *Squire Savory* and their Assigns, for Ink-Powder and double handed Bellows.

P. Well, *Tim*, I shall take a Time to examine that Point, when we come to Inventory the *Canonical* Shop of Ware.

T. In the mean while, since you have been talking of Payments and Church Reckonings, I would

I would desire a Word or two upon that very material Article: for I can't find but that you allow the Government a Power to pay their Preachers, and *Mens entring into Societies*, say you, *subjects their Properties to the disposal of their Rulers*, which is, indeed, a very Gracious and Loyal *Axiom*: nay you are positive, *That the Power of Rewarding is one of the First Ideas of Government*, tho' I fancy 'tis most commonly the Last: For People are seldom paid, till the Work's done; but whether it be the First, or the Last, I would gladly know whence the Money shall arise, from what *ways and means*, and what shall be the Fund? Introduct.

P. That, I think, ought to be at the Magistrate's disposal.

T. Now I think not: For if the Magistrate may make what Ministers he pleases, and pay 'um how he pleases and when: Then do I believe in a little time we should hear of nothing from the Pulpit but *Divine Rights*, *Uninterrupted Succession*, *High Commissions*, *Passive Obedience*, *Non-Resistance*, *Godlike Images*, *Heavenly Deputations*, *Will and Pleasure*, *Test and Penal Laws*: And on the other Hand, if all these Powers were in the Mob, then we should meet with little else but *Votes*, *Properties*, *Commons and Comprehensions*, *Equality*, *Levelling*, *Natural Rights*, *and Original Compacts*; Don't you see how horribly our Lecturers and Chaplains are stinted upon the score of *Dependence*? Are not all their *Thanksgiving and Solemnity Sermons*, as nauseous as if they were preaching to a Funeral? Which of 'um dares touch upon Restitution in *Cornhil*, or men-

mention *Usury* in *Lombardstreet?* And what would become of 'um, should they use as broad Hints, as the Apostles did, when they stuck not to name *Hymeneus*, *Philetus* and *Alexander* the *Copper-Smith*, nay even *Diotrephes* himself, *tho' he lov'd to have the Prehemi-nence?*

P. Thou hast brought Things to a pretty pass, *Tim:* for if neither Sovereign nor Subject must dispose of Church Preferments, Whence shall they arise?

T. Why if you please, *Sir*, they shall arise out of Religion it self: which shall maintain its Professors, just as the Law does; This, as it is most Equitable and Just, so it will most naturally keep Men from corrupting that Truth, which is their Livelihood and Subsistence.

P. I am very ready, *Tim*, to stand to this Bargain: when I want Council at Law, I'll pay 'um: and when I'm engag'd in a Suit, the Court, where I apply, shall be sure to have their just Fees.

T. And so we must stay till you turn *Christian*, before you'll pay the Parson his Dues: But observe, *Phil*, the State may require an account of your Faith, and yet not trouble you for a Title to your Freehold: And that, which makes *Parsons* always necessary, is, because *Sins* are not as yet ceas'd, nor even grown as unusual as *Law Suits*, and because *Sunday* does make quicker returns than the *County Court*, or *Petty Sessions*.

P. But why must these Revenues be settled by the State?

T. Why

T. Why not? Could not any of our Kings of *England* be as Bountiful to a *Parson*, if they pleas'd, as to a *Pimp* or a *Jester?* Could they not encourage a Company of *Divines*, as well as a Company of *Weavers* or *Merchant-Taylors?* Or found *Rectories* and *Vicariges*, as well as *Schools* and *Hospitals?* Introduct.

P. But there may be such a thing as an exorbitant Grant, *Tim!*

T. That's certain, for *all Lands are holden of the Crown*, and yet there's very little *Crown Land* left: And therefore with all my Heart, let there be a general *Act of Resumption:* tho' I believe 'twill be hard to find a *House of Commons*, that will Vote it; But now in the mean time, if I give a Beggar a *Tester*, or the Blew-Coat-Boys a *Mark* a Year, or Ten Pound to *Greenwich Hospital*, I much question if I can Sue for this again: So if upon my Demise, I leave my Son *Robin* a good Farm, and Five Pounds apiece to them that carry me to Church, and double the Sum to the Black Gentleman that walks before 'um, Why his Legacy should be void, and the others payable, I cannot readily see: And therefore your best way will be to prove, that all *Tyth* Pigs, Geese and Calves are *Royal Game*, that the *Parsonage-house* is a *Cottage* within the *Statute*, and that the Freehold *Glebe* is more particularly liable to *Resumption* than the *antient Demesnes:* For this would be something: but 'tis to no purpose to dispute a Title in Print, with a pack of Arguments, which if engross'd into an *Exchequer Bill*, would signifie no more than the Ballad of St. *George*, or *Patient Grizle*..

Introduct. *P.* All I drive at, *Tim*, is to secure State, for there may be an Excess that way

T. Ay, and if there were a Deficiency, all one: you can easily make either Pov or Riches an occasion of scandalizing Clergy, when you are set upon't; No think an Extream of the first sort the r dangerous, for the Wealthiest of us a not above doing Good, nay is in the very P of doing most: but he can do very little i that is himself an object of Charity, and far from being at leisure to edifie others, ther by his Alms or his Doctrine, that he keep his own Wife and Children, his Br or his Guts, or his House from Dilapidati Or must a Man, think you, presently g as proud as *Nebuchadnezzar*, because taken up from Grass, and admitted into glorious Privileges of Beef and Pudding: must the Clergy be deny'd all share in World, because they depend upon a Reve in the next?

P. I would fain bring thee to Terms, if it be possible, for I hope thou wilt 'um: or must we maintain all those that t fit to go into Orders?

T. No, let 'um shift, and they deserv tho' I know they are your Friends; for their little Shuffling and Tricks, they su you with all your *Canonical Satyrs*—— now, *Sir*, my Project lies thus: I find diligent Enquiry, that generally speal there is in every Parish in *England*, a co Publick Edifice, commonly call'd a *Ch* which has stood there time Immemorial: this the Law takes care to keep clean,

dry, and decent: Now that this same Edifice may be somewhat useful to the Publick, I would have the same Laws provide it with a House-keeper, and at the same time that it takes care to buy a *Surplice*, I would have it strictly look'd into, whether he who is to wear it, does not want a *Shirt*: and it should be also examin'd at *Visitations*, whether whilst the Parish has been well fed with Spiritual Nourishment, the Parson himself be not most carnally a hungry. Increase.

P. Well, but what shall be his Allowance?

T. Why if you'll let him have a *Tenth* of the current Manufactures of his Parish, you shall then make what *Statutes* of *Mortmain* you please, provided you'll insure thus much.

P. And dost thou think, that God has any where oblig'd People to part with their Civil Rights for the sake of Religion?

T. I have heard Folks say, that he lays Claim to all the Kingdoms of the Earth, even the *Great Mogul's*: that he challenges the Cattel upon a thousand Hills, and yet all those Hills may be laid to *Commons*. And that tho' *Dick* Sow, and *Roger* Plow, yet he has a Title to the Increase: And tho' he may have made a fair Conveyance of these Things, yet you can't tell, but he has reserv'd a *Quit Rent*, as well as *Suit and Service*.

P. But how can'st thou prove this?

T. I can prove in general, that Spiritual Goods are such as no body can [illegible] without: and that 'tis hard to part with them without a *valuable Consideration*. Now I hope, you'll give us leave to make as [illegible] as we can.

Introduct.

P. And us too.

T. In the first Place then, we'll conjure you by the Noble Names and Blood of your Ancestors, by the Honour of *Tumbler* and *Towzer*, who even in the State of Nature were so far from being niggardly upon this account, that they gave whole Provinces to their *Chaplains* for a Present, and whole *Hecatombs* for a Meal: Nay even the hard hearted *Jews* would not scruple to offer a *Bullock*, where our People would scarce part with a *Calf*, or even a *Shoulder* of him, and ne'er boggl'd at a Herd of *Swine*, whilst some of our Folk shall make more noise about a poor *Pig*, than the *Sow* that bore him: and yet I'll be bold to say, that neither the *Druids* of *Gaul*, nor *Bracmans* of *India*, nor the *Levites* from *Dan* to *Bersheba*, could show such *good Goods* as are now tender'd to you.

P. But observe, this was under the *Law*.

T. And yet I do not find, but that the *Gospel* allows of eating and drinking, as well as the *Law*: Then consider, *Phil*, the generosity of your Neighbours: you see what half *Europe* gives for a pack of *Popish* Trumpery and Rubbish: Whereas, we offer nothing to you but substantial Ware: and then divide the Parish into *Ten* carnal Parts, *Nine* of these we allow to the Body, and one would think there were no need of any *Revelation* to inform you, that the Soul is certainly worth the *Tenth*; and 'tis well he is *immaterial*, otherwise he would not be so contented.

P. And so I must drudge and labour for other People——

T. And yet not be paid for't——'Tis very hard

hard——Put that home, *Phil*, for 'tis just [illegible] the Case: and tho' the Parson be not *the Ass that draws Water*, nor *the Ox that treadeth out the Corn*, yet for all that the Similitude is never the less *Canonical*.

P. Well, *Tim*, hitherto thou hast had all the talk to thy self: and thou hast settled *Forms and Ceremonies*, *Creeds*, *Tythes and Church Pow'r*: Thou hast but little left now, and that is to make this Power *Independent*.

T. In truth, *Doctor*, you have a better Opinion of me than I deserve: for this is to let you know that I have settled no such Thing: and I must tell you, I have neither *Parts* nor *Authority* for such an undertaking: all that I pretend to, is to make it out that there may be such Things notwithstanding any Thing you know, or can say to the contrary: and therefore I have only endeavour'd to clear your Reputation, and vindicate your Innocence, and to make you appear harmless and unspotted as a Babe; and yet you, ungrateful and inhuman, are all the while plotting against me, laying Traps and Puppy-snatches in my way, and contriving my utter Destruction: for I know your design now, you have a mind to deliver me up to the Jaws of the *two headed Monster*, Is't not so?

P. Ah! *Tim*, if I could but catch thee asserting that same *Independent Power*, I would so maul thee!

T. And so persecute me: [illegible] have you lay about you [illegible] *Reparees*, *smart Questions*, *pithy Propositions*, *double Entendres*, *bright Arguments*, [illegible] *Dilemmas*, *quaint Conundrums*, [illegible]

Introduct. *Whipt Cream*, *Syllabub*, *Snap-Dragon*, *Sal*, *Sulphur and Mercury:* Whereas in your Introduction now, when you were upon the *Establishing* Point, and whilst your own Principles were upon the *Tenter*, there you are as shy and shifting as *Ferguson*, as cautious as a Divine in a *Lent Sermon*, and as reserv'd as a *Tory Judge* in a *Charge* at the *Assize:* There you do little else than give us a Catalogue of the *Latitudinarian* Cant, such as *Nature*, *Rights*, *Compacts*, *Liberty*, *Property*, *&c*, all which Goods we have inventory'd long ago, and set as good a Price upon as any of the *Modern Appraisors:* so that here one must feel, and grope, and tickle you out: but when you come to the Demolishing Part, to the pulling down of *Babylon*, there you are a perfect *Hero*, a *Drawcansir:* However, be a Hero, or a Devil, or what you will, I'll cock my *Beaver*, buckle on my *Brass*, and have one *turn* with you.

P. Don't be rash, *Tim*, and expose thy self: thou art a pretty Fellow, and I had rather make a Friend of thee.

T. Hang it! a *Man*'s but a *Man:* I'll have one brush however: kill, or be kill'd, remember my Love to my *Dame:* Only I give you notice before hand, that if you do eat me, you'll certainly be taken for a bloody *Papist* and *High Church Persecutor*.

P. And art thou so fool hardy, as not to be fear'd in thy very first setting out, at those two deadly Blows, which I think I have given the Independent Power at *pag.* 29?

T. By your leave, *Sir*, they are three Blows: and all levell'd at that great, that mighty, and

and pompous Argument for Independent Power. however, [illegible] Power the Church could not have [illegible] Magistrate was [illegible]. Now [illegible], this high and mighty Argument is really one of the least that we make use of, and only by way of *Second*; and this convinces me, that you are not that Champion that you pretend to be: for had I been in your Place, when I had defy'd the Hoft of the *Philistines*, I would have fingl'd out some of their *Men*, some of the *Goliah's* or Sons of *Anak*, and not sneak away to the *Rear*, and there challenge a lowsie *Knapsack Carrier* or pitiful *Powder Monkey*, to engage for a broken Head or bloody Nose.

P. If it be not thus mighty, why do the Clergy so often, and so solemnly and pompously, usher it in?

T. But 'tis still in the *Rear*, *Phil.*, besides, you may call *Demonstration* Pomp, and *Syllogism* Solemnity, and yet go as plain as you please for all that.

P. Nay, for matter of Demonstration, I think I have sufficiently routed it.

T. Routed it! [illegible] enough to rout the *Lacedaemonians* [illegible] terrible one as you [illegible] sounds thus, [illegible] second thus,— [illegible] thus,—*They that [illegible] vant and Ambassador [illegible]*

P. But [illegible] is back'd.

T. [illegible] down, [illegible]

P. [illegible] gage [illegible]

Introduct. *T.* And yet, if you pleaſe, I'll call a few Seconds, and try a little; for firſt, *ſay you, all Religions ever ſince the Beginning of the World have ſubſiſted by a natural Right, without dreaming of an* Imperium in Imperio: and from this a very ſure and ſhrewd Conſequence muſt follow, *that therefore all Religions* (except ſome very ſtrange ones indeed ſhould ariſe) *may ſhift without thoſe three Latin Words to the End of the ſame World.*

P. Well, *Tim*, and what can'ſt thou ſay to all this?

T. Something or another, to be ſure, juſt as it comes uppermoſt: for I'll ſay, perhaps, that the *Chriſtian Religion* never did ſubſiſt, nor ever ſhall: Will that pleaſe you?

P. Why doſt thou think it ſhould?

T. Becauſe I fancy, that Meat, Drink and Cloaths, are the moſt uſual and moſt natural Rights, by which poor Mortals can ſubſiſt in this World: Now I can't find, that the firſt Planters of Religion had any of theſe ſame Rights by Inheritance, neither had they leiſure to work for 'um, and yet you won't allow 'um any other way to come at 'um.

P. Tho' notwithſtanding this I don't find, but there were ſuch Creatures as *Apoſtles*, and they did once ſubſiſt: Thou haſt heard of their Lives, I ſuppoſe?

T. Yes, and of their Deaths too, and I do find, that if Roaſting, Boiling, Stewing, Baking, Brewing, Grilling, Slicing, Potting, and Mincing them, are natural Rights, deſign'd for their Preſervation, as I know not but they may, provided there be Spice, Pepper, and Pickle enough: then indeed they had plenty

plenty of these Rights, and subsisted very comfortably: but if they who should have protected 'um, form'd themselves into one grand Alliance, and by these, and all other both natural and unnatural Ways and Means, would have destroy'd and utterly rooted out the very Name of Christianity, why then ——— Introduct.

P. What then?

T. Why then, they did utterly root it out, and there's an end of't.

P. Not so I hope.

T. How should it be otherwise? You know 'tis not Independent, and therefore can't subsist without 'um.

P. But 'tis plain, it did subsist.

T. Therefore, say I, it had an Independent Power for its Existence: for the Power precedes the Act, say both my Masters, *Crackanthorp* and *Burgersdicius*.

P. And what of all this, *Tim?*

T. Why thus, *Sir:* If these Men had no natural Rights left to subsist upon, then, say I, they had some other Rights of Subsistence: and these Rights not being Natural, nor falling any where within the compass of Nature, they must fall either above or below it, to the right or to the left, on the one side or on t'other: and therefore we'll give you leave to call 'um, either *Extranatural*, *Praternatural*, or *Supernatural*.

P. However you can't deny, but it might have subsisted by a natural Right.

T. True: and that Right the Magistrate might have given it, but Religion is, with your good leave, above Nature, and I'll venture for once to call it Divine, and what's Di-

Introduct. vine may have a Divine Right of Subsistence for all that you know: and this being Divine, must needs be above the Magistrate, because he is a Creature purely human and natural: and therefore when you give Religion only a natural Right, 'tis ten to one if you don't also believe it to be only a natural Religion.

P. Why so? May not he, who made Religion Divine, commit it to the Care of the Magistrate?

T. But was it so committed? For then the *Messiah* must have been *Cæsar*, or *Cæsar* the *Messiah*, and all the *Apostles* Viceroys and Lords Lieutenants: And then the *Jews* would not have been so horribly baulkt as we imagine: besides, if it had been committed to the Magistrate, the Right would not have been less Divine in the Hands of *Cornelius* the *Centurion*, or the *Tetrarch* of *Galilee*, than when tender'd to one *who sat at the Receipt of Custom*, or to those *that were mending their Nets*.

P. Prithee how did other Religions subsist?

T. By a natural Right, for they were natural Religions: and therefore must depend in some measure upon the Magistrate, who is the supream Judge of Nature.

P. But then even before Christianity, there was a Religion, which was not natural but reveal'd.

T. True, and its Professors subsisted upon natural Rights till they were oblig'd *to make Brick without Straw*, and then they resolv'd to shift for themselves: and shift they did, yet not by a natural Right, for Nature seldom rains Quailes, or brings forth *Manna* like

Mush-

Mushrooms: You may call long enough with the loudest natural Voice you can, and yet the Sun won't stand still so long as Farthing Candles are to be had: and the fairest and most natural Rams-horns, tho' the Owner of 'um was very arch with his Head, won't beat down a *Half-moon*, or storm a *Counterscarp*, neither would natural Right without a good Fleet of Ships, have brought *Israel* out of *Egypt*, or the House of *Jacob* from among a People tho' never so strange: Nay the dissenting *Hivite*, *Canaanite*, and *Jebusite*, had their natural Rights too, and yet the Rights of the *Hebrews* were too hard for 'um.

P. But supposing a Divine Right of Subsistence, does that prove a Divine Independency?

T. Lord *Sir!* who ever dream'd of any such thing?

P. Who indeed?

T. And yet I fancy, if a Man would gently lay himself down, and doze a little upon natural Right, he'll soon dream of an Independent Power.

P. Are they so near a Kin?

T. Oh, they are *Cozen Germains*, like the two Cats that sat on the Well, and would take it as ill to be parted; Now a natural Right according to you, is such a Right, as a Man gets in a State when there were no Magistrates, nor none like to be, till the People had voted 'um: and therefore natural Right being before the Magistrate, can never depend on him, especially since you have said, that this natural Right, meaning Religion, was never made over, nor ever can be made over,

by

Introduct. by any Compact or Agreement, Bill, Bo
or Indenture.

P. I profess, *Tim*, thou begin'st to be
saucy and impertinent, I think we shall fig
in good earnest: And thou look'st as furi
as the Figure of St. *George* on a Sign Post.

T. I'll rescue the *Virgin*, I'll warrant ye
and besides that make you an Example to
Dragons: Han't you said, *That* Imperium
Imperio *was never dream'd of till very late*
And yet you can't tell but *Moses* might so
times Dream of his *Brother* as well as himse
What were the *Magi* of *Persia*, the *Gymno*
phists of *Egypt*, the *Pontifices*, *Augurs*, *Sa*
&c. and the rest of those Dreamers? I do
you, they did Dream of an *Imperium in Im*
rio, ay and an *Imperium super Imperi*
which for all that I know may be as g
Latin as yours, and I could prove it too,
quote as many Authors as you for't, an
could call 'um *the Learned*, *the Excellent*,
the Judicious, as often as your worship,
had a mind to be as ridiculous: And I
tell you that *Hickes* and *Dodwell*, and *Le*
and the rest of that Clan, have learn'd of
Dreamers, and would be very well conte
with their Power, if you could get it
'um; Nay don't you say your self, th
Modern Strains of Independent Power we
ken from the Heathens, particularly the
of *Gaul:* Whereas, poor Souls, they
dream'd of any such Thing: truly
would have dream'd to the contrary,
been you, I would have taken care to
seen my self better awake first; and
why should you charge the Clergy with

the most Ignorant and Ambitious of Mankind, in holding an Opinion for which they had found some Reasons, whereas all yours won't intitle you to above half that Character, they may prove you perhaps the most ignorant of Mankind, but as for Pride and Ambition, you have no Title to't. Introduct.

P. I'll vow, *Tim*, I almost repent of some of my Rights, because they encourage prating and Impertinence; Have I deserv'd this, *Tim?* Have I not dealt with all the Candor and Modesty imaginable? Have I not done the *Clergy* most rigorous Justice, stated their Case, and answer'd it fairly?

T. Oh it must needs be very fair, to confute a Case first, and state it afterwards; But pray, what do you call the State of the Case?

P. You may find it at *Paragraph the* 36th. It begins thus, *The Clergy, generally speaking, affirm*, &c.

T. Enough! enough! There it is as you say: but I hate *Creed-making*, when there's no occasion for't: and tho' indeed *Poets* and *Pamphleteers* may make Speeches for other People, even after they come of Age: yet I cannot think it becomes a Reformer of the Times, a searcher after Truth, and a Professor of Justice.

P. Nay, *Tim*, if thou art not pleas'd with my State of the Case, thou may'st try to mend it, and then take which thou lik'st best.

T. Have a care, that's a large concession: you have seen some Modern Cases, and they'll teach you, that a Case may be so stated, as to leave a Man his choice of the Question.

P. And

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T. And yet mine is taken out of the Writings of the Clergy.

F. And some of mine out of original Records.

T. I would fain have thee begin, *Tim*, and give me a Taste of thy skill.

T. If you please then, we'l state it thus. Lawyers, generally speaking, affirm, that God has appointed for every Country Town three Governors, independent of each other, a *Squire*, a *Constable*, and a *Parson*, and that all these have, as well as that no Government can subsist, a Legislative and Executive Power: That one of these Governments, namely, Squire-craft, being the Civil Order, by an original, indefeasible Right, derived from *Brutus* and his *Trojans*, who empowered him to Rule the Land from one end to the other: And that by virtue of this Empire they have a right to make Laws, not only about indifferent matters, as Waifs, Strays, and Pound-breaches, but that their Authority likewise extends to Pocket Affairs and Money Concerns, that is according to the Custom of all Manners, to determine for the People, what they shall pay, and upon what conditions they shall hold their Wives, Children, Goods, Chattels and Estates: and that they have a right to inforce Obedience to their Decrees, by Censures and Amerciaments: the Effects of which, say they, are infinitely more to be dreaded, than any a *Justice of Peace* can inflict: since 'tis no less than the hurting up their Barns, Stables, and Mansions, and delivering over to *Jaw*, all who are so unhappy as to fall under him: and that as none can be admitted into the Parish, but by their

ir means, so they have not only a discre- Immediate.
nary Power, to admit or not admit, but
ewise to punish those they have admitted,
t only by Damning and sinking 'em, and
ing over their Grounds, but turning 'em
of the Parish, and obliging all Persons to
n and avoid them, of which is all one, by
iging them to shun and avoid all Persons
running the Country: and that for all man-
of Sins, not only for breaking the Ten
nmandments, but also for violating any of
ten hundred Commandments, given in
rge at the *Leet* or *Court Baron*; and that the
ter to do this, they like all other inde-
ident Powers, have a Right to erect Courts
Judicature, to summon Witnesses, and do
atever they think necessary for the support
their independent Jurisdiction, of which
mselves under God are the sole Judges,
l consequently can Fine their Tenants for
atever they shall judge to be Contempt,
ntumacy, and Disobedience: and that they
ve this great Advantage above the rest of
Parish, that their own Estates and Persons
free, their Grounds Sacred, and their Hares
l Partridges Inviolable, and they are capable
the highest Civil as well as Ecclesiastical
wer, they can depute Parsons, or make them-
ves *Justices*, or *Parliament-men*, but 'tis
atiny and Usurpation in all, except those in
om the true Succession of *Squireship* has by
ht of *Elder Brotherhood* given the *ancient*
mesnes, to exercise any Jurisdiction or Em-
y, Civil or Spiritual, within the Parish:
l that whatsoever they attempt of this Na-
e, is null and void, for want of a *Presen-*
tation,

Introduct. *tation*, *Lease*, or *Copy of Court Roll*, which none are authoriz'd to bestow, except those, who derive their Power from Nature in a direct Succession according to the *Herald's Office*; The consequence of which is, that theirs is the most absolute, arbitrary, unlimited, uncontrolable Power in the whole World: because having it without any intervention of the People or their Representatives, they cannot be accountable to them for Male-Administration, neither yet to God, as being Patrons of his Church, and consequently above it.

P. This is another of thy frolicks, *Tim*: but I profess, I see neither Wit nor Reason in't.

T. I'll warrant, we'll please you by and by: we'll try agen, and it shall go thus, Philosophers, generally speaking, affirm, that Nature has appointed for every Body three sorts of Governors, independent of each other, *Midwives*, *Doctors* and *Surgeons*: and that all three have, as without which no Government can subsist, a Legislative and Executive Power; which by a natural unalterable Right was deriv'd to 'um from *Galen* and *Hippocrates*, and from *Lady Nature* her self, who empower'd 'um to rule every Body in the World, so long as they have left any Body remaining in it: and that by Vertue of this Empire, they have a Right to make Laws and Prescriptions, not only about indifferent things, as the Spleen, Cholick, Hyp and Vapours, but that their Authority likewise extends to Life and Death, according to the practice of all Artists, to determine for the People what they shall

Drink, and when they ſhall riſe and go immediately
ed: and that they have a Right to inforce
dience to their Decrees, by bodily Pains
Cenſures: the Effects of which are, ſay
, infinitely more to be dreaded, than any
Civil or Eccleſiaſtical Power can inflict,
: 'tis no leſs than Death, and perhaps Damn-
on, and a delivering over to eternal Dark-
, all who are ſo unhappy as to fall under
n; and that as none can be admitted into
World, except by their means, ſo they
: not only a diſcretionary Power, to admit
not admit, but likewiſe to puniſh thoſe
have admitted, not only by Faſting, Mor-
ation and Fees, but by turning 'um out of
World, and obliging 'um to ſhun and avoid
Perſons, and to take leave of their neareſt
nds and Relations: and that not only the
cked and Sinful, but even the Innocent and
tuous: for no other Crime too, than ſip-
g a little harmleſs Tea, and for the Green-
neſs as well as the Blew; and that the
er to do this, they, like all other indepen-
t Powers, have a right to erect Colleges,
npanies and Corporations, to ſummon Di-
npers, and do whatſoever they judge neceſ-
r for the ſupport of their independent Juriſ-
ion, of the extent of which, themſelves under
d are the beſt Judges, and conſequently can
and murder their bodily Subjects, for what-
ver they ſhall judge to be the new Fever, evil
bit, Malignancy, or a faſhionable fit of Morti-
; and that they have this great Advantage
ve the higheſt Secular Powers, that the
res are capable of Hanging, Drawing,
artering, Racking, Maſſacring and Ex-

Introduct. ting, without giving any Reason for't: but that 'tis horrid Murder and Usurpation in all, except those, to whom the true Successors of *Galen* have by Licence, and setting to their Hands, given Authority to go forth and kill, or to exercise any Physical or Chirurgical operation whatever: and that if they attempt any thing of this Nature, 'tis null and void for want of a Licence, which none are authorised to bestow, except those, who derive their Power from God by an immediate Intuition into Nature: the Consequence of which is, that theirs is the most absolute, arbitrary, unlimited, uncontrolable Power in the whole World, because having it without any Intervention of the People or their Representatives, they cannot be accountable to them for any *Malepraxis*, nor yet to God himself, because upon him they charge all their Miscarriages?

P. Prithee, *Tim*, leave fooling, and be serious: for I profess I can't see any thing above a trifle in all thou hast said.

T. Why, *Sir*, this is to convince you, that independent Powers are not altogether so hard to find as *Mares-nests*, provided a Man is good at *stating Cases*, and can tell how to make the most of every thing.

P. Make what thou wilt of every thing: but don't fly from the purpose: deal fairly and honestly, *Tim*, take the Writings of the Clergy, make Collections, draw Consequences, and observe how they strain for independent Power, and then try to state the Case otherwise than I have done.

T. If you please then to give us leave to spread the *Bible* and *Concordance* before us we

we'll reach down *Jewel*, *Hooker*, *Hammond*, *Pearson*, *Sanderson*, or any you shall please to call for of the last Century, above *forty* or under *sixty*, and I question not, but by a little modelling, moderating, and qualifying them with one another, we may make a shift to Squeeze and Pump the following Case out of 'um——The Clergy, generally speaking, affirm, that God has thought fit to make two Worlds: and that it is his design, that Man should live as happily in both, as his Nature will permit: That as to the World to come, forasmuch as it is no part of *Crown Lands*, nor any of the *Plantations*, nor within a *Parliamentary Grant*: therefore it has pleas'd the Proprietor, to let Lives and grant Pensions thereout, under such Conditions as he has thought fit, without either *Proclamation*, *Order of Council*, or *Vote* of the *Commons*: And that these Conditions consist of a Body of Rules and Precepts, form'd and exhibited by a sufficient Deputy, legally Commission'd thereunto; and that, whatever Persons think fit to list under him, and accept of the Terms aforesaid, every number of Persons so listed and engag'd, do make up a real and essential Society: and it being agreeable to good Rule and Order, that every Society should have certain Governors and Directors for the managing the common Stock and Business of the whole, This has been accordingly provided, yet so, as not to lessen the Powers of any other Corporations, but to strengthen 'um with fresh Leagues and Alliances: upon which account, if the Magistrate please to annex any Privileges or Profits to their Order, 'tis hoped they

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Introduct. may as quietly enjoy 'um as any of their Neighbours, the *Old* or *New India Company*, enjoy any of their Franchiſes and Immunities; that as to their Legiſlative Power in making Laws about indifferent things, ſuch as the Time, Place or Manner of their publick Meetings, it is of ſuch little Advantage to 'um, that they had as live it ſhould be done by *Act* of *Parliament* as by *Canon:* and that as to weightier Articles, ſeeing they are by their Office appointed Interpreters, therefore when the State by convening them requires ſuch things at their Hands, they think they have the moſt Right to declare ſuch and ſuch Articles, becauſe they can beſt tell where to find the *Chapter* and *Verſe*, and to point out the Proofs: for unleſs that be done, 'tis in vain to think any Body will hearken to or believe 'um; That it's true indeed, no one can be admitted into the Society but by their means: and yet they are oblig'd to admit of courſe, tho' they ſhould not be invited to the Spice-bowl; That as to rebuking and reproving, they deſire ſome ſmall liberty more than *Satyriſts*, *Pamphleteers*, and *Ballad ſingers* uſually claim: and the Power of expulſion can't well be deny'd 'um, becauſe it belongs of Right to all Clubs, Gangs, and Societies, even thoſe of Taverns and Coffee-Houſes: that no one need dread the Conſequences of ſuch an expulſion, any farther than he believes 'um, which is fair enough in all Conſcience: and that if the State has thought fit to diſcourage ſuch Reprobates, by laying any ſecular Inconveniencies upon them, 'tis probable, it may give a Reaſon or two for ſo doing, when thereto legally required; that for their

their Courts of Judicature, they were erected [illegible] by the State, which the State might as well do for the Clergy, as for *Foresters*, *Bailiffs*, *Country Squires*, *Justices and Corporations*: that the extent of their Jurisdiction is more limited than some of those are: that People may be contumacious at *a Bishop's Court*, as well as a *Petty Sessions*, but then the Criminal must be very notorious, if he complain of hard Usage, since only *asking Pardon* will reverse the Sentence; that the Clergy have these disadvantages above all others, that their Function deprives 'um of almost all other employs: and that those few Offices, which they may still aspire to, they must take only under such conditions, as are annext to each of 'um: and that therefore 'tis reasonable their own Offices also should not be attain'd to, but under such Terms, as serve to preserve it tolerably Venerable and Sacred: and yet even these are not so very strict, but that the Son of a *Modern Freeholder* may venture to aspire thereto: tho' 'twere to be wish'd they were strict enough, to keep out all those, that would do better to lay out their parts in *making Shoes*, or *mending Hedges*: and that in order thereto, the most natural method that can be taken, must be to keep the Right of nominating Successors within the Body Politick, as is usual in free Governments among *Aldermen*, *Burgesses*, *Constables*, *Tything-men* and *Scavengers*; Now if this be the State of the Case, as you cannot tell but it may: and I question not, but upon a faithful *Poll*, to quote as many Authors as you can for t'other: then upon allowing this absolute, arbitrary, unlimited and uncontrol-

Introduct. able Power, it ſhall not preſently follow ſo very dreadfully, but that a Man may ſtill ſmoke a Pipe with his Friend, tho' there ſhould happen to be a Parſon in the next Room, neither ſhall his Ground bear the worſe Corn, tho' it lies in common with the Glebe, and is butted and bounded with a Canonical Acre.

P. Well, *Tim*, after all, thou can'ſt not but acknowledge that I have ſtated the Caſe moderately, ſince 'tis but very lately thou blameſt me for flinching.

T. Alas a-day, *Sir*, for ſuch a parlous Man as you are, to be ſo very forgetful! Why, here's not one word of *Tythes*, *Marriages*, *and Viſiting the Sick*, and a world of independent Powers beſide; for does it not appear very plain, that the Clergy have a mind to inſlave and befool all Mankind? Do they not claim a Power of admitting People into the World by their Deputies and Vicegerents? And how can we beget Sons and Daughters, that is, honeſtly and fairly, without Marriage? And how can we marry without a Parſon? And then for going out of the World, a Man can't bruſh off handſomely without their leave, nor yet bequeath any thing to his Friends, ſo much as a *Tankard* or *Silver Spoon*, unleſs they ſign to't; And then any one, who walks abroad into the Fields, and ſees the *Green Bow* upon the *Tenth* Sheaf or Cock, if he underſtands any thing of *Goodwin*'s *Antiquities*, muſt certainly find, that it thereby intends to run away with the other *Nine*.

P. Thou may'ſt make thy ſelf merry, *Tim*, and ſtate the Caſe as thou pleaſeſt, 'twill prove all

all one in the end, when I have demonstrated that the Church cannot have so much as one independent Power belonging to't: And if that be made out, then I think the whole *Hierarchy*, as built on it, must necessarily fall to the Ground, and great will be the fall of this Spiritual *Babylon*. Introduct.

T. Now by my Faith, *Phil*, you'll make the Church to be much worse than the *Conventicle*, a *Barn*, or *Out-house*, or what it has been once already, *a Stable*, or even in the litteral Sense, *a Lodge in a Garden of Cucumbers:* for if this same Edifice, be it what it will, does but happen to contain a few things call'd *Men*, it cannot fail of having some independent Powers belonging to't: for every Man, according to you, has a certain set or pack of Rights or Powers by Nature, that are his Property, free to himself and Independent of the Magistrate: Nay, if you will but allow the Church to be as good as a *Tavern*, or *Coffee-house*, where People meet in Clubs and Cabals, for pleasure or business: the Magistrate, say you, in such Cases, has nothing to do to disturb or interrupt 'um, they are Independent, Supreme, Uncontrolable, and Unlimited, provided they pay their Reckoning, and are civil to the *Landlady:* So that if I will but insist on the Churche's being a *Sunday's Society*, or *Christian Club*, or one of those same *tolerated Assemblies* that, say you, are to subsist as conveniently as they can by a natural, that is, an independent Right or Power: then there's an end of the War: you may draw off your Forces to some other Town, for *Babylon's* bespoke: unless you have a particular Fancy

[a] Isa. xiii. 21. to the place, because it was design'd as [a] *a Dance for Satyrs, and a Habitation for Owls.*

P. Take the Wit, and give me the Reason: and I say, that the Powers the Church pretends to, are so far Independent, as to carry with 'um an Ecclesiastical Supremacy, Despotick and Tyrannical: and I will prove that there cannot be two such Powers in the same Society.

Chap. I. *T.* Now God forbid there should be one such Power: I am sure you have gone and made the State as dependent as possible: the People are to make the Magistrate, to judge and to depose him: so that for my part, I see no reason why you should put your self to the trouble of proving against two independent Powers in the Body of your *Rights*, since you have taken care to make all Power dependent in your *Introduction:* unless you mean to make your *Introduction* to be a sort of a foil or set-off to what follows, whereas with us now, 'tis commonly us'd to *introduce* a Man into the Knowledge of the Book, which I cannot see how yours can possibly do, since I find they are no better acquainted.

P. 'Tis no matter, *Tim*, what I hold: those I dispute with, do acknowledge two independent Powers, and that's enough to justifie my part in the Controversie.

T. But, *Sir*, I find you can hold with independent Power, when there's occasion for't, as well as the best of 'um: for don't you in your Introduction say, *That the Magistrate is such a one, with whom the Supreme Power is intrusted?* And that same Magistrate you have, as I said, made as dependent as ever you could

contrive: whereas, when you come to the first *Chapter*, at the very opening of the Show, *Number* 1, there, and in what follows, you make the Supreme Legislative Power to be *Independent* and *Invisible*, and undertake to prove that it cannot be otherwise: They are your own Maxims, for I look'd into the *Margent*, and I can't find either *Dodwell* or *Lesley* quoted, or any of their Adherents. Chap.

P. Prithee, *Tim*, how stands thy Faith in this Case?

T. Really, *Sir*, I don't know what to say to the matter: I could methinks very readily grant, that all independent Power were Supreme, but that you give such a very scurvy Reason for't, I begin to doubt whether it be so or no.

P. Why, is it not a good Reason to say, that all independent Power must be Supreme, because what is not so, must be dependent?

T. Just as good as to say, that all Rogues must be hang'd, because they that are not hang'd, must needs be honest: and yet to my Knowledge, there are Persons in the World that shall be nameless, who can justifie this to be false.

P. Why, *Tim*, can'st thou prove any medium between *Dependent* and *Independent*, or between that which is *Supreme*, and that which is not so?

T. No, but yet I can prove, that tho' all that which is not Supreme, should be dependent: yet still, that which is Supreme, may be so too: and that it is so, you have try'd,

Chap. I. as well as you can, to make out in your *Introduction*.

P. Well, *Tim*, not to insist upon Independency, wilt thou grant me, that all Supreme Power necessarily carries Legislature along with it?

T. Not so *necessarily* neither, you know the People must consent, and all that: However, I can suppose it for you.

P. Then how is it possible, there can be in one Society two such Powers about the same things? because by one Power a Man may be oblig'd to do a thing, by t'other forbid, so that the same Action would be both a Duty and a Sin.

T. Now *High Church!* Now *Tory!* Now *Tantivy!* What are you arguing the Independency of the Supreme Power by what it may do, if it pleases? May not the *King* by vertue of such a Supremacy as you have here granted him, send and pluck out all the right Eyes in the Nation in order to make Gunners of his People, or cut 'um off all by the left Knee for improving the Manufacture of Wooden Legs? I tell you he may do this according to you, and there's no way to prevent his doing it, but by allowing a few more Supremacies besides his own: For then, whereas one of these Supreme Powers shall command it by way of *Prerogative*, the other shall forbid it as *breach of Privilege:* and then you shall see how rarely we'll come off that *Dilemma* of yours touching Duty and Sin, for we'll say, that what these Powers can't agree to, is no Law, and where there's no Law there can be no Transgression: but if the thing to be injoin'd be

really

really reasonable, then 'tis odds but that these same two Powers, provided they have common Sense and a good peaceable disposition, that is, supposing they have no real intention to knock one another down, or fight a Prize for the Diversion of Spectators, will agree and join in Enacting that same reasonable thing: and then there can be no scruple left in the Subject; no Body, *Phil*, ever undertook to say, *that a Man could serve two Masters*, where one of 'um is a *Devil*, if the other be but good for something: neither was ever any Man so simple, as to imagine, that *a Kingdom divided against it self could possibly stand:* that is, where half the Kingdom was for one thing, and t'other half for just the contrary: So that when a Man looks no farther than the *Motto* of your *Book*, he rests pretty well satisfy'd: but when you come and say, that a Man cannot obey the Church as well as the State, because 'tis possible they may quarrel and fight, and endeavour to overturn one another, this is just as Wise and Learned, as if you should affirm, that *Partners* in a *Shop* can't take a *Prentice*, nor *Joint Tenants* in an Estate hire a head *Carter*, because 'tis possible one of 'um, that is, if he be fool or mad, may command him to go to Plow, at the same time, that the other has strictly order'd him to fetch inn Faggots.

Chap. I.

P. I wonder, *Tim*, with what assurance thou could'st charge me with *Tantivy* and *Highflying*.

T. The best assurance is Truth, *Phil:* for don't you in your *Introduction* allow every Man certain natural Rights and Powers Independent

pendent of the Magiſtrate? So that in ſome things every Man is Supreme Lord and Tyrant of himſelf, and as *Mr. Dryden* expreſſes it, *I alone am King of me:* And is not the Maſter of a Family, even according to you, the Supreme Independent Governor of his Houſe in matters Œconomical? Have not the *Lord Mayor*, the *Lords* and *Commons*, nay, every Society and Club, their particular Powers, which they claim as Rights unalterable, and Independent of all others? And are not all theſe the Effects of a free Government? 'Tis true, all theſe *Supremes* are in ſome reſpect or other accountable, and ſo is the Magiſtrate himſelf, either to God or the People: whereas now if there be any thing in what you ſay, the Great *Supreme* one of all muſt ſwallow the reſt, and devour 'um quick, whenever he pleaſes.

P. Thou wer't owning but juſt now, that thou had'ſt Sworn *Supremacy* to *Queen Anne*, and to her alone: yet now thou art for acknowledging, I know not how many *Supremes* beſide.

T. 'Tis true, *Phil*, I have ſworn as you ſay: and yet I fancy for all that, I may venture to correct my Boy *Tom*, without a Warrant from the *Secretary*, or go to Bed to my Wife without an *Order* of *Council*.

P. But ſuppoſe thou ſhould'ſt at the ſame time be ſummon'd to a Civil Court, or preſs'd to the Wars, what becomes of thy *Œconomical Supremacy* then, *Tim?*

T. Why then there's an end on't: the leſs muſt yield to the greater, for there are little *Supremacies* and great *Supremacies:* the Maſter of a *Family* is not ſo great as the *Maſter* of a

Company

Company, nor the *Maker* of a *Company* as a *Company*, nor an *Alderman*, nor an *Alderman* as a *Citizen*, nor a *Mayor* as a *Parliament-man*, nor a *Parliament-man* as a *Lord*, and the *Queen* [illegible] greater than all of them, and there is [illegible] greater than the *Queen* [illegible] in *Europe*: and yet all these in their [illegible] Places and Stations, have certain [illegible] independent Powers and [illegible] which they can't be deprived [illegible] the Constitution.

P. All this while we stray from the Question, *Tim*: for that was whether there could be two Independent Legislative Powers about the same thing.

T. Why consider it [illegible] there may be three, the *Queen*, *Lords* and *Commons* who tho' they make the *Parliament* are three distinct Jurisdictions, their Rights and Powers seperate and independent of each other. Now a Bill may be [illegible] the same thing unless there be *Tacking* [illegible] and then all three are concerned therein.

P. But then they make but one Power in respect of Bills, tho' all must agree before they become Laws.

T. Right: but then separate from each, and their *Votes*, *Orders* and *Proceedings* are distinct and Independent: and the same Man may be [illegible] to either, according as he falls under the *Secretary*, *Black-Rod*, or *Sergeant at Arms*.

P. And all for the same Fact?

T. Ay, for the same Fact may affront all three: don't you see sometimes the *House of Commons* punish a Rogue, and then consign him over

Chap. I.

over to the *Crown*, to make his Satisfa
there too, and perhaps after that, to
Church: which had like to have been
Friend *Toland*'s Case?

P. But what if these Powers disagree
the same Case?

T. Why then Conferences are desired
nagers appointed, and it being suppos'd,
is a good Lump of common Sense am
'um, they e'en argue out the Matter
and handsomely——But now no free Go
ment can ever agree in any thing, if you
the Right.

P. Why so?

T. Because no Government can be fr
has not more independent Powers th
and if those Powers are *two*, or *th*
what number you please, and happen to
in any one Thing, then, say you, they
and become *one*, and there's an end
Constitution: so that in order to prese
they must remain separate, and diff
quarrel in every thing, and then you a
of your Point and all those Absurdities
follow of *feasting*, *fasting*, *putting in*
turning out, which you mention at *P*
nay and besides them, Blood and Pl
Rapes, Murders, Adulteries, Robberies
solation, and the Devil and all will f
which are as bad Absurdities as yours,
a great deal worse.

P. Now for my part, *Tim*, I cann
how a Man can be under even different
gations at the same time, any more t
different Places: since he may be bound

ne time to be before an Eccleſiaſtical, and a Chap. 1.
vil Tribunal.

T. And ſo you think 'tis impoſſible for a n to be a *Son*, a *Pariſhioner*, a *Plantiff*, a *dier*, and a *Subject* at the ſame time? hereas I ſay now, he may be all this, and at the ſame time: 'tis true indeed any of Powers that command him, may if they aſe to be troubleſom, or don't rightly unſtand the extent of their Power, contradict oppoſe one another: but how awkard uld it look, to have a *Father* charge his on his Bleſſing to keep cloſe behind the inter, at the ſame time that the *Duke of rlborough* requir'd his Attendance in *Flan-s?* Or to what purpoſe would it be, ſhould *ollonel* give a *Furlow* to a Priſoner in the *ten's Bench?* Or where would the Senſe think you, if a Parſon ſhould reprove his ighbour for not coming to Church, that at ſame time is with my *Lord Galloway* in *ugal?* For let me tell you, *Phil*, whatever may think of your ſelf, Generals, Juſti- and Parſons, eſpecially *Proteſtant* ones, e ſo much Philoſophy, as to deny that the e Body can be in two Places at the ſame me: And to know, that the *Army in Flan-* cannot at the ſame Time ſing *Te Deum* t. *Paul's*, tho' they may, perhaps, give good occaſion for't: Neither will *Coke* or *ne*, or *Lamyck*, juſtifie a Man's appear- in the *Queen's-Bench* at the ſame Moment he's in Arreſt at *Briſtol*: and therefore the ernment has taken care to ſtate every man's er right, and to ſee that they do not clash interfere: and if ſometimes it ſhould ſo happen,

Chap. I.

happen, the Matter is fairly compos'd and justed: For a Judge of *Nisi Prius* won't j sently fine a *Sheriff* for not attending, i be at the same time upon Business at *Crown-Bar*, tho', perhaps, he has never *Digby* of *Bodies*; According to which R the Church and State have their Bounds Limits distinct and separate, without F or Encroachment: and there be some thi that lye in common between 'um, and they liv'd peaceably together many Y when their Powers were greater than at sent, and [a] what has been, may be: a People will be easie, the Church may still her own, and be as good and quiet a Ne bour to the State, as a *Freeholder* of *ten Pou* Year may be to a *Squire* of *five hundred*, he neither look to his Dogs, nor wait a Table.

[a] *See Lord Haver—— Speech on the Union.*

P. But how can the Church and State different Judges and Governors? For i Magistrate is to judge what is Civil, he unavoidably judge what is Ecclesiastical, cause Civil includes all that is not so: a the Priest be allow'd to determine what is clesiastical, he must, there being no *me* determine what is Civil.

T. O raree Show! Raree Show! For i Magistrate be to judge as well what he i to judge, as what he is to judge: the Magistrate may judge as well what he not judge, as what he ought to judge; a this rate, I'll make *Sir John Holt*, *Lord Admiral* of *Great-Britain*: because if to judge what is the Law of the *Land* must unavoidably judge what is the L

he *Sea*, because *Land-Law* includes all that is not so: and if the *Lord High Admiral* be allow'd to determine what is *Sea-Law*, he must, here being no medium between Sea and Land, determine what is Land-Law: and so the Admiral and chief Justice shall be very politically united: and yet methinks, he that knows not Sea from Land, deserves to be neither one nor t'other.

P. But then, *Tim*, if you suppose one must yield to t'other in any one point, that which does so, cannot be independent.

T. No sure, that is, not independent in that point in which it yields: but yet it may be yielded to, and become independent in another point: as a *Parson* may most *independently*, *supreamly* and *magisterially* reprove a *Justice* for Bribery, and the *Justice* may as *independently* commit the *Parson* to Goal for Breach of the Peace: and yet both their independent Powers remain whole and entire.

P. And dost thou think God, who is the God of Order and not of Confusion, would ever suffer Mankind to be subject to so many inextricable Obligations?

T. Why, 'tis he himself that has done it, and because he has done it, therefore, say you ought not to mention one word of Disorder and Confusion; but let who will do it, cannot find any thing that you say will give any relief.

P. Well, *Tim*, thou may'st imagine such Powers ruling the Body Politick, [illegible] as absurd as to [illegible] dent of one [illegible] tural: Two [illegible]

Chap. I. natural or political, can serve to no other use than to make a Monster of it.

T. And yet now I have heard old Folks, *Aristotle* and that Gang, say, That there are not only Two but Three Souls governing the Body natural, and that each has distinct Powers, and a seperate Existence: But however that be, I am sure a Man may consist of a spiritual and secular Part, as well as the State, and the State as well as Man: And as to the Two Heads, I have heard that the *Romans* had a God of that Form, and I have seen a Calf like it in *Smithfield*, and it did, as you say, look monstrous enough: But should there once come a *Head*, that would undertake to be so far independent of the other Members, as to walk for the Feet, to handle for the Hands, and to digest for the Stomach, and thereby eat up and devour the whole Body: 'twould so mightily exceed all the Monsters that ever yet entertain'd *St. Bartholomew*, that I know but one Man in the World qualify'd to write its History.

P. But observe, *Tim*, if there may be two independent Powers on Earth, why not in Heaven? And yet this seem'd so absurd to the Primitive *Christians*, that from the Impossibility of it, they confuted the Multiplicity of the *Heathen Gods*.

T. Look ye, *Phil*, 'twas not so much the Multiplicity as the Contrariety of the *Heathen Gods*, that scar'd the Primitive *Christians*: for they could not imagine, how *Vulcan* and *Neptune*, *Venus* and *Diana*, *Pluto* and *Jupiter*, *Mars* and *Janus* (he with the Two Heads I quoted just now) could ever live peaceably toge-

together; but you must needs be a very *Modern Christian* indeed, to imagine, that there are not two independent Beings in Heaven, one ruling the State, and the other the Church: so that if your Argument proves any thing, it proves only the Author an Heretick: and yet 'tis so very a silly one too, I'd sooner quit it, than my Religion.

P. That's my pretty *Tim!* and thou't advise me what Religion to chuse, heh! But prithee look home, thou seest here with us, 'tis contrary to the Nature of Things, to have more than one Power in a Family, and therefore thou should'st imagine, that the same Reason holds good in a Society, made up of divers Families.

T. Why faith, *Sir*, I can't tell how 'tis at your House, but with us now 'tis quite otherwise: Here *Dad* and *Mamma* divide the Matter so equally, 'tis hard to know which has most: 'tis true all goes in Father's Name, he Lets, Sets and Receives: but then Mother rules the Roast, is supream in the Market, the Buttery and Bed-chamber: and all this they put upon us as the *Law of our Father*, and the *Law of our Mother*, and they pretend to quote *Solomon* for't, and yet I fancy you won't believe one word he says.

P. Poor *Tim!* What pains thou tak'st to make thy self a Slave, to all the Powers that ever usurp'd on Mankind!

T. No, *Sir*, I am inventing some qualifications of Power, and moderating the Supremacy, that the great huge one of all may not overturn us: 'Tis you that are the Tyrant, *Phil*: You are the *Tory* the *Highflyer*, that

Chap. I.

are trumping up the old Story of an indivisible, incommunicable, uncontrolable Supremacy, with just those very Arguments, which *Jacks* and *Tantivy-Men* have so often bellowed against Liberty and Property, and I hope they will meet with just the same Success and Approbation.

P. Can'st thou tell me how supream, independent, legislative Power can subsist without being indivisible?

T. And so no *Lords*, no *Bishops*, no *Commons!* but only by Grace and Favour: Nothing of Right! no Law! no Property! But all Prerogative! All Will and Pleasure! Why 'tis impossible this should ever hold long, *Phil:* I fancy you set up the Magistrate as high as ever you can for a little time, only till he has knock'd down the Church for you, and so soon as that feat is done, you'll call him down to the old Level, and he shall be, as he was before, *a Creature of the People*; But have a care, *Phil*, how you venture Independency in his Hands but for one Moment: for if you let him be absolute, tho' but in one of your *Chapters*, he'll not care a fig for your *Introduction*.

P. For my part, *Tim*, the Consequence must shift, if I'm satisfy'd in the Premisses, that's enough for my Conviction: and I cannot but think, if the supream independent Power has any Jurisdiction in Ecclesiasticals, it must have the same in Civils, and consequently all Power whatever.

T. Prithee, *Phil*, do so much as tell me, whether this same Banter of yours, be natural or artificial: for here you have inveigl'd me

into

into a very pretty Scrape; If I offer to say the Magistrate has any Power in Ecclesiasticals, why then it must needs follow, that he has the very same in Civils (there being no difference between 'um) and if this Consequence be not enough to confound me, why then you come and assume, and say, that if he has the same in Civils as in Ecclesiasticals, then another dreadful Consequence shall be drawn down to make an utter end of me, that having all Civil Power, he shall therefore have all Ecclesiastical too: and if after this I do but offer to stir Hand or Foot, then that I may never quitch more, the whole System is *tack'd* and *consolidated* with this horrible *Hypothetick*, that if he has not all Power of all sorts, he cannot be Independent and Absolute. Chap. I.

P. And is not all this enough to convince thee?

T. Oh *Sir!* I am convinc'd for ever; that he, who has the disposal of the Premisses, may make what Conclusions soever he has a mind to: For here now, in *Great Britain*, by the supream Power we commonly understand a good conscionable Authority, such as may consist with Liberty, Property, and Parliaments: But you, it seems, notwithstanding what you promis'd in the *Introduction*, are resolv'd to make the Magistrate Mr. *Hobbs*'s Image and Superscription, and as independent as possible; Now let me mean by the Supremacy a *Lyon*, a *Tyger*, a *Dragon*, or a *Demigod*, as there's no reason but that I should have my meaning as well as you yours, and I'll make it swallow the Congregation, the Church, and the Steeple, as soon as your

Chap. I.

Magiſtrate ſhall for his Life: and after that's done, I'll go to *A* for *All* with my Playfellows, and cheat 'um of their Pennys by the very ſame Stratagem: for whereas they uſually underſtand the Letters in the following Manner: *A for All*, *N for Nothing*, *P put down*, and *T take up One*: I'll come and I'll ordain, conſtitute and appoint, that *A* ſhall ſignifie *Abſolute*, *T Tyrant*, *P Prerogative*, and *N Non-Reſiſtance*, and ſo I'll ſeize the Stakes, whatever comes uppermoſt.

P. Leave trifling, *Tim.*

T. Nay, if there be any worſe trifle in *May-Fair* than that ſame Argument of yours about the Sameneſs of the Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Power, I'll never ſhew my Teeth agen; It has been already obſerv'd by ſome learned * *Divines*, that there is a great difference in *Sameneſſes*, and you have made it out as clearly and evidently as *Euclid*.

* Vid. Dispute between Stillingfleet and Lock.

P. How ſo?

T. Look ye, *Phil*, will you compound with me?

P. Compound! For what?

T. Why you and I ſeem to be Men of Buſineſs, and we ſhall be taken, I ſuppoſe, you for an *Envoy* or a *Coffee-man*, a *Plenipo* or a *Poſt-maſter*: and I, perhaps, for a *Vicar* or a *Verger*, an *Archdeacon* or a *Bell-ringer*: ſo if you pleaſe we'll truck Civils for Eccleſiaſticals.

P. Propoſe the Terms.

T. Why you ſay, that the Magiſtrate has the ſame Power in Civils as in Eccleſiaſticals, and having therefore all the Power of one ſort,

ſort, he muſt have conſequently all of t'other ſort. Chap. I.

P. What then?

T. Why then, if his Power be the ſame over both, if you pleaſe we'll let neither of his Deputies have any more Power than the other: and therefore the *Convocation* and *Parliament* ſhall have both one *Charter*, or elſe we'll have as many Eccleſiaſtical *Knights*, *Citizens* and *Burgeſſes*, as there are Civil, and there ſhall be *Commons* Spiritual and Temporal as well as *Lords*, and they ſhall ſit and do Buſineſs together.

P. It can never be.

T. Why then, Treaty null, Ceremony aſide: and ſo we'll proceed to the Argument; And it lies thus: If the Magiſtrate has any Power in Eccleſiaſticals, he muſt have the ſame in Civils (for 'tis ſuppos'd they are all one) and if he has the ſame in Civils as in Eccleſiaſticals, he muſt have all the Power in Eccleſiaſticals, becauſe he has all in Civils. —— Now it ſo happens that theſe two *Sameneſſes* here are vaſtly different: for I ſuppoſe or grant, that the Magiſtrate has ſome ſmall Power in Eccleſiaſticals: Now ſay you, he has the ſame, that is, ſome ſmall Power, in Civils: but then it ſo happening, that his Power in Civils is not only a ſmall Power, but in truth comprehends all: therefore this laſt *Sameneſs*, which is much wider than the Firſt in the Premiſſes, is ſet to match it in the *Concluſion*, to the utter deſtruction of *Senſe* and *Babylon*.

P. How ſo? *Impudence!*

T. If you pleaſe, *Phil*, I'll give you the Fellow on't, as thus: I am Lord of a Mannor,

Chap. I. *Timothy* and *Triſtram* are my Tenants, the one in *Fee*, the other by *Leaſe*, both paying a *Quit-Rent:* Now comes I into the *Queen's-Bench*, and I ſet forth, that I have ſome right in *Timothy*'s Eſtate, that is, a Right to the *Quit-Rent;* and I have the ſame in *Triſtram*'s, that is, a Right in like manner to the *Quit-Rent:* this the *Defendants* readily grant: Whereupon I aſſume, and ſay, that if my Right to both be the ſame, ſeeing *Triſtram*'s Eſtate is by *Leaſe*, *Timothy*'s muſt be ſo too, and thus I ouſt him of his *Freehold*.

P. It muſt certainly be ſo, if thy Right be independent, *Tim.*

T. Why ſo? Do's an independent Right to a *Quit-Rent*, infer an independent Right to a *Freehold?*

P. There now appears the folly of thy Contradiction: for ſupream, independent Right moſt certainly includes all others.

T. Nay if you pleaſe it ſhall include *Sea*, and *Land*, and *Sky*, and every thing in *Nature:* It ſhall make *a Part equal to the Whole:* juſtifie *Contradictions: Create and Annihilate: Save and Damn*, or what you will by way of Suppoſition: but the *Devil* of any ſuch real independent Power is there any nearer than *Paris*— In ſhort, *Phil*, uſe a little Conſcience in your Dealings, Vote with your Neighbours, and be content to take the *Supremacy* for a reaſonable, legal Juriſdiction, ſo that the *Lords*, the *Commons*, the *Church*, the *Mannor*, the *Corporation*, and the *People*, may all enjoy their independent Rights, and live quietly by it: but if you'll have the Supremacy ſignifie *Leviathan*, *Gogmagog*, or ſome thing above Law and

and Gospel, Properties and *Parliaments*, prithee say not one word more of *Christian Rights*, or any other Rights whatever, without a License from the *Secretary*: neither be so presumptuous, as to reckon your self with *Low-Church*, or so much as the *Moderation-Men*: for you move in a higher Sphere, *Lesley* and *Drake* can't come near you: You are a *Non Pareil* in Politicks, a very Highflying *Phœnix*, and I'd give Six-pence an Ounce for your *Ashes*, were it only to secure the *Succession*. Chap. I.

P. All I ask is, that the State may be so far independent, as that the Churches Power shan't hurt it.

T. Nay, you have so contriv'd the Matter, that it must needs be very quiet and harmless, tho' 'twere never so much bent on mischief: for let the Government be what it will, you have taken care to keep the Church out on't; because if it be a free Government, then it must be so very free, as to leave People their choice of Religion: If the Government be absolute, then it must be so very absolute, as to leave the Church no manner of Right, but just as the State pleases; I remember you have a Hint somewhere of the upper and the nether Millstone: I can assure you the *Idea*'s compleat, add but an *Eternal Clack*, and *the noise of many Waters*.

P. Can any thing prate worse than the Church, when it prescribes bounds to the State, and would limit the Secular Power?

T. Nay, Mercy, Moderation, and Justice, are strange Limitations, that's certain: for my part I wonder any Magistrate can endure to hear of 'um: How is it possible he should be

Chap. I. Supreme, unless he can hang whom he pleases, and when, and where, and for what he pleases?

P. Look ye, *Tim*, I'll give him no Power over the Laws of Nature, they are of necessary Obligation.

T. How necessary: mayn't a Man help being Just and Merciful, tho' he would never so fain?

P. Not so neither: but the Common Good and Self-preservation require they should be observ'd.

T. And may not a Man break 'um now and then, for that same Good, and for the Parlous Doctrine of *Self-preservation?*

P. By no means, for they are divine Laws, because *Nature* is *God*.

T. Well then, if *Nature* be *God*, may not, think you, *Revelation* be so too?

P. What then?

T. Why then, if Justice and Mercy oblige Men because they are natural, may not Church Government oblige, because 'tis reveal'd?

P. But if I can prove it interferes with the State, then 'tis to be presum'd 'twas not intended by God.

T. But methinks now the most regular way would be, first to go to the *Bible*, and see if we can find any such thing, and then proceed accordingly: but for you to argue against the Being of the Church, because of some fancy'd Inconveniencies, is just as if you should reason all Toads, Serpents and Spiders out of Nature, because 'tis possible you may say two or three silly Things, by way of Caution, why they ought not to have been created.

P. Look

P. Look ye, *Tim*, I only argue against such a Form of Church Government, as interferes with the State: for that, I'm sure, can never be Divine. Chap. I.

T. Ay, but then what do you mean by interfering? There's not a Vertue in *Whitby*, nor a Statute in *Wingate*, but interferes with the Magistrate's Power: Justice gives him his choice out of one side, every *Act* of *Parliament* takes off something from the extent of *Prerogative*, and *Mercy* and *Moderation* will shorten his Arm to the Elbow.

P. But I mean so interfere, as to rob him of those Rights which are necessary for the Good of the Publick: In short, Church Power rivals and dethrones him: What think you of the Right of making and depriving Ecclesiasticks?

T. Why, *Sir*, I think such a right can no more hurt the State, than an independent Right in our *College* of making and expelling their *Fellows*, can unchair the *Parish Constable*, or dethrone the *Mayor* of *Oxford*.

P. And yet if this be allow'd, it wholly excludes the Magistrate from putting a Clergy-man to Death: for in deprivation of Life is included deprivation of Office, and consequently he could not have the Greater without having the Less.

T. Look ye, *Phil*, all Axioms and first Principles have their proper Elements, in which they thrive and prosper: but take 'um out of their Sphere, and they look as awkward as a *Land-Crab* or a *Tench* of the *Mountains*: for there's that Maxim now of yours: *that the greater includes the less*, it makes a very pretty Figure in *natural Philosophy*: I question not, but

Chap. I.

but 'twill serve for the largest Sphere in
gory, the *Primum Mobile* not excepted:
bring it to Politicks, 'twill scarce give a
stice of the *Peace* the Power of a *Petty Co*
ble: for tho' he be the greater Officer, ye
can neither quarter the Foot, nor comm
the *Lanthorns*, nor has any thing to do v
the *Dominions* of *Darkness*; he, who h
right to *twenty Shillings*, one would t
should have a right to *Eighteen*, the gre
Sum including the less: and yet a Polit
Land Tax shall leave him but *Sixteen* to
Pound in spite of *Wells* and *Wingate*; 'Tis c
monly said, that the Crown can't depri
Commoner of his Place in *Parliament*, bu
may hang him: and yet I am cruelly afr
that he can't after that be properly call'd a
ting Member: Suppose then a Person
demn'd accordingly: if the Sheriff instea
Hanging, should cut his head of, or put
his Eyes, or slit his Nose, tho''tis plain in
privation of Life is included deprivatio
Head, Eyes and Nose, yet this shan't ex
him from *Felony*: and thereupon it was
observ'd by *Sir Tho. Moor* to the Executio
that was just going to behead him, *That t*
had a Commission to cut his head off, yet he
none to cut of his Beard, which he therefore
care to remove out of the way: and my
thor does not say, that the Hangman c
deny it: and yet I believe it might be a M
even in that dark time of Popery, that i
privation of Head is included deprivatio
Beard; and therefore the Clergy must not
it ill, if they fare no betteer than the *Apo*
whose Commissions being apparently Di

*See Hales's *Pleas of the Crown.*

consequently not at the Magistrate's dis- Chap. I.
l, yet their Persons being Human, the
istrate would sometimes make bold with
: tho' a *Cross* or a *Fuller's Club* puts as
an end to the divinest Commission as
chiavel himself could devise; and I must
you, the Magistrate is not at all oblig'd
ou for these Notions: because we are of
ion, that all the Persons in the World can't
Man and Wife: And yet a Marry'd Man
go to the Gallows as well as a Batchelor,
'tis plain the tying the Secular Noose un-
the Spiritual one of Course: whereas now
ur Law be worth any thing, 'tis but for a
to plead *Matrimony*, produce his *Certi-*
, and his Life's safe: so that he thereby
ce baulks the *Gallows*, the *Proverb*, and
ny, by which *Marriage* and *Hanging* had
ng gone together.

All this while, *Tim*, it is to be remem-
l, that if the Clergy hold their Offices by
vine Commission, the Magistrate can't de-
: 'um of the Exercise of those Offices;
onsequently, not Banish or Imprison any
at Order.

Most certainly he may for good Reasons,
yet Religion be never the worse for't:
ise Parsons are not so scarce, but others
be found to supply their Places; 'tis true,
ng as they are good Subjects, they have
uch Right as the Dissenters, and the Ma-
ate can't disturb 'um in the Exercise of
Religion: for sure a Parson has the same
lege to tender his Goods as they that cry
and Mackerel: but tho' all these enjoy
rty and Property, yet there is here and
there

Chap. I. there a Case in *Dalton*, for which, not standing their natural Rights, they m fairly dispatch'd to either of the *Counters* yet the Subject still remain free: unles can prove the Clergy exempt, because *nation* is *Peerage*, and *Presbytery* the same *Privilege of Parliament*.

P. But the Clergy, by their Divine mission, must have a Right to Places Persons, where and upon whom to cise it.

T. Ay, and room enough have they: *Rectory* reaches from Pole to Pole, and Congregation is equal to Mankind: who ders 'um from crying out in the Streets, is, at all seasonable Hours? or proclaimi on the House top, provided they can with the Landlord? For no Body plea Divine Commission to *Lambeth*, or is indu by the Holy Ghost to St. *Martins*, or qu a Text of Scripture for a *Prebend* of St. *Pa* and the same's the Case with the Laity; tho' every Man that's born, has a natural R to Places and Persons, that is, to live s where, to converse and be sociable: yet no is born Fellow of a *College*, or an Offic the *Excise*: Neither does Nature enter an dy of the *Temple*, or give Places at the *Cu house*; However, it can't be deny'd, but every one, who carries good Tidings, an Clergy among the rest, ought in Justice welcome: He that brings me News of th turn of a stray Sheep, or the arrival of my Cow, shall have a Pot of the best: but a a Right to particular Places and Persons, *Apostles* themselves were so far from plea

it, that upon a temporal deprivation, they only *shook the dust off their Feet:* and yet I cannot find, that this Expression does in the Modern Translation import, a Writ of *Quare Impedit*, or a *Declaration* of *Jus Patronatus*. Chap. I.

P. But then, *Tim*, how can the Magistrate put a Layman to death, without leave of the Church? Since he thereby robs the Church of a Spiritual Subject, to which it had an independent Right.

T. Why, Sir, there are several ways of putting to Death, by Ax, Faggot, and Halter: and the same Hemp that deprives a *Bishop* of a Lay Subject, deprives the Father of his Son, and the Wife of her Husband, to both which they have an independent Right as well as the Bishop: tho' 'tis [a] seldom any of 'um are so foolish, as to go into Court, and protest against the Proceedings; and therefore when a poor Malefactor is going in his Lay Capacity to *Tyburn*, the *Bishop* is so far from resenting it or offering at a rescue, that he Commissions a *spiritual Deputy*, on purpose to further the business, and bring him fairly on his Journey.

[a] *See Chernock's Trial, &c.*

P. Thou can'st never, *Tim*, come off the business of *Excommunication* thus smoothly: for if that belongs to the Priest by Divine Right, the Magistrate can no more deprive of Communion by Banishment or Death, than the Priest could Hang or Imprison: for their Powers being equal, the Magistrate could have no more in Ecclesiasticals than the Priest in Civils.

T. And yet if their Powers be equal, the Magistrate must have all, and the Priest all too: for Independency commands both sorts;

But

Chap. I. But why all this pother about proving tl
cleſiaſtical and Civil Powers by Reaſor
Arguments? whereas, 'tis the Law that
mines both: for here are you and I, *Phil*
a couple of ſilly Loggerheads, toſſing A
and firſt Principles at one another, abo
Church and State: whereas *Revelation*
Act of Parliament can, if they pleaſe,
an exception to the talleſt Axiom in *Sta*
it not a firſt Principle of *Magna Charta*
the People of England *are free in their*
and Perſons? Tho' 'tis well known at the
time, *Ludgate* and *Bedlam* are ſtill kept i
pair, and ſufficiently Tenanted; for this
Policy is a very ſtrange thing, *Phil*, and
State has a mind to halter a Man, who b
next Neighbours and Acquaintance to d
Work, to the utter Deſtruction of Peac
Society! and all this, you muſt know, is
for the Benefit of the Publick, and the En
Government, in deſpight of Maxims an
Principles; for if what you ſay be tru
Church muſt be a Sanctuary for all Vil
and benefit of the Clergy extend to Mur
well as Petty Larceney: ſo that if a
went to Church in the Morning, he nee
ſcruple to pick Pockets in the Aftern
and he that obſerves *Sunday*, may ſafely
Purſe on *Monday*: But you are to under
the Church is a better Ally than ſo, an
readily part with a Communicant, wh
Attendance is required at the *Old Bayley*
ſides, tho' ſuch a one be impriſon'd, he
preſently Excommunicate.

P. No!

T

T. Not in my Apprehenſion: for the great ge Jayl-Birds of all, thoſe of the Society *Newgate*, are ſo far from being in thoſe rcumſtances of Reprobacy, that they have *Chaplain* provided by the State on purſe. Chap. I.

P. I ſhould fancy now, that in deprivation Liberty, in Baniſhment, Death and Impriſonment, is included deprivation of Communion, ſince that's the Conſequence on't.

T. True, *Phil*, you may fancy ſo: but fans being free, I may alſo fancy, that Salvan or Damnation are the unavoidable Conquences of Death, that is, they follow juſt ter it, and bring up the Rear: and yet I canet by any means fancy, that the Judge, who ſſes Sentence, can damn or ſave; I may ncy again, that if I take a Friend upon a *Sunay* Morning to the Alehouſe, and we don't art till Night (as ſuch things have been done, r Conſtable) this, I fancy, will deprive him Communion, and yet it would be a very range fancy indeed, ſhould I thereupon imaine, that I can Excommunicate, or that I am good as *my Lord Biſhop*.

P. This is not all, *Tim*: for the Power of xcommunication in the Prieſt takes from the agiſtrate the Right of depriving one of his alling and Profeſſion: ſince no Man can exerſe them, who is to be ſhun'd by all, as the xcommunicate are: for both cannot have a ight to the ſame Power.

T. There's another of your Fancies, *Phil*: or have not you already decreed, that the ame Fact may be both Civil and Eccleſiaſtical: nd then, one would think, both thoſe Powers ſhould

Chap. I.

should have a right to interpose: Besides, supposing Excommunication to be as terrible as you imagine, yet that Maxim, *that two Persons cannot have a Right to the same Power*, being it is not to be found in any of our Law Books, will signifie no more in a Kingdom of *Co-ordinations*, than a Maxim from *Opticks* or *Prosodia*: for has not the *Constable* a Power of laying by the Heels, as well as *Mr. Justice*: may not a *Creditor* seize by *Execution*, and a *Landlord* for *Rent?* Has the Father, think you, so far establish'd an independent Right over the Sons Buttocks, that neither *Knipe* nor *Newborough* can make the least Incursions into his Territories? and yet both these Powers are upon as distinct an account as the Civil or Ecclesiastical, because one perhaps punishes for making too bold with a few *natural Apples* in the Orchard, and the other for being so shy of those *Classical ones*, to which *Baucis* or *Will. Lily* had so graciously invited him.

P. But then, *Tim*, supposing the same things to be Civil and Ecclesiastical: 'tis unavoidable, that the Church and State must Clash and Quarrel, and destroy one another's Power.

T. In the mean time, I was thinking of a very unusual Case in Law, In which I would willingly have your advice; you know, the *Game Laws* do very strictly forbid the keeping of a *Setting Dog*, but only under such and such Qualifications: Now suppose a Man by his Industry should teach a *Pig* to Set, (you [a] know they have good *Noses*, and are withal a very *Sedentary* sort of Animal) I would gladly know, whether such a project might bring a Man

[a] *See* Ray's *Works of the Creation.*

a Man under the Statute? Or what, think you, would be the Issue in an appeal to the *High Court of Chancery?* Dial. I.

P. Why, *Tim*, I think, 'tis very [illegible] to give ones opinion in a Case, before [illegible] happens.

T. Why, really, *Sir*, I am [illegible] of your mind, that I don't know [illegible] self in any League, Treaty, [illegible] rage or Accommodation, [illegible] and State, till they are [illegible] and withal to appoint me [illegible] *Mediator*, with [illegible] by my *Sentence and Arbitrament*.

P. Nay, they can [illegible] the Church by [illegible] Man shun'd and avoid[illegible] of all Commerce [illegible] Perish miserably [illegible] of Life and Death [illegible] which is a direct [illegible]

T. And, who [illegible] and running away from [illegible] sure he [illegible] have a great [illegible] side, or [illegible] Forehead [illegible] that none of [illegible] then [illegible] run [illegible] all the [illegible] by [illegible] should [illegible] more [illegible] as [illegible] very [illegible]

Chap. I. ſtanding the miſchief it does) is adjudg'd a *Reprobate:* but let the worſt come that will, he who is kick'd out of Company by conſent of a Crew of good Fellows at Midnight, if he will not acknowledge and beg Pardon for his admittance, after the Diſcipline of the *Blanket*, and *Strapado*, deſerves to ſtand all Night in the Cold and Rain, and to be Perſecuted till he is tame agen and well temper'd; The truth is, *Phil*, obſtinacy will make Tyrants as faſt as Faggotſticks: Let a *Fifth Monarchy-Man* be buff to his Principles, diſown his Allegiance, and ſtand mute before a Judge, and you ſhall ſee him perſecuted for ſaying nothing; and ſo let a Man owe me *Ten Shillings*, and ſtand *Suit* till it comes to an *Outlawry:* this ſhall make him ſhun'd and avoided by all Mankind, drive him to Priſons and Dungeons, and make him lead a Life worſe than Death, and perhaps ſtarve and rot, if he be equally obſtinate in the buſineſs of *Fees:* and then preſently a Story muſt be ſpirited up, that our Government muſt needs be Abſolute and Deſpotick, where the Power of Life and Death, and that in the moſt trifling Cauſes, belongs to a *Scoundrel Attorney*.

P. But cannot the Prieſt, if he pleaſes Excommunicate the Magiſtrate, or his Party, or Soldiers?

T. The Prieſt, if he pleaſes, *Phil*, may preach to the Winds, Piſs againſt the Moon, and rebuke a Thunderbolt: He may proclaim a *Croiſado* againſt the *Turk*, or Summon the *Whore of Babylon* into the *Arches:* But I would firſt have him raiſe three or four Millions upon the *Glebe*, and keep a *Standing Army* in the

the *Church-yard*: for let me tell you without Chap. 1.
that, *a Writ of Rebellion* against his Person, or Execution against his Goods, suppose the *Courts* of *Westminster* mad enough to grant 'em, would soon end in a *Attainder* for High-Treason, and the *Anathema* of *Paul Lorrain*: and that very justly, since 'twas for seizing a Person, that the Law says, *can neither die, nor do mischief*.

P. True, and the reason why the Magistrate cannot be Excommunicated, is because of his *Civil Rights*: and will not the *Civil Rights* of the People be an equal Bar?

T. By your leave, *Phil*, 'tis because of his *Civil Sovereignty*: now if the People are Civil Sovereigns as well as he, then let 'em have the same Privilege.

P. And yet St. *Peter* calls him their *Creature*, that is, *he's made by 'em, as well as for them*.

T. If he did, I'd renounce him, oftner than the did his *Master*: 'tis true, he says *Government is the Ordinance of Men*: and Men have many Ordinances, Powers, and Magistrates, and many Religions: and all pretending to be Divine: but then these are to be obey'd *for the Lord's sake*, observe that: so it seems he has some Interest in 'um, as well as the People: and it follows, *The King is Supreme*, that is, as you elsewhere interpret *Supremacy*, he is Independent, Indivisible, and Uncontrolable: and then a few Verses after is the *Passive Text*, and the whole *Mystery* of *Non-Resistance*: which however the Church has been pleas'd to qualifie in favour of the State, as is well observ'd by * *Doctor Davenant*, by making

* Essay on War Abroad, &c.

Chap. I. king a Revolution in Divinity to match that in Government, yet 'tis plain you are paſt this pitch of Moderation, and have turn'd St. *Peter* quite *topſy turvy*, and again *crucify'd him with his Head downward.*

P. But is not the Magiſtrate as much the ſpiritual Subject of the Clergy, as any of his People?

T. How ſo? Can you cite him into *Doctor's Commons?* Or convene him before a *Biſhop?* 'Tis true, he's oblig'd to take the ſpiritual Bread and Wine at their Hands, and to hear their ghoſtly Advice: and in the ſame manner, he muſt take the carnal Bread from the *Baker*, and ſecular Advice from his *Council*, as alſo his Wig from the *Barber*, and Phyſick from his *Doctor:* and yet we don't ſwear Allegiance to *Ratcliffe*, tho' 'tis poſſible Majeſty it ſelf may be ſometimes ſubject to his Preſcriptions; ſo that you highly wrong the Clergy, *Phil*, for inſtead of the Queen's being their ſpiritual Subject, I dare pronounce in their Names, that they are all her ſpiritual Subjects and Servants, and to uſe *Cardinal Woolſey*'s Complement, *moſt faithful Beads-men.*

P. However, the Magiſtrate ſuffers as much in his ſecular Capacity, by Excommunication, as any of his Subjects.

T. And ſo does he by Storms and Tempeſts: will you adviſe him therefore, to ſend out his Guards and Suppreſs them? Nay, the more Goods and Chattels, the greater the Sufferer: and would it not be a ſad thing, if his *Landlords* the People ſhould ſhut up the *Exchequer* for Rent, or *Indict* his Armies for a *Riot*, or bring an *Ejectment* againſt the *Tower* of *London?*

don? Therefore be ſure you remember the *Setting-Pig*, and when that and this Caſe happens, get ready; *Phil*, with all your Law about you. Chap. I.

P. Put the Caſe how you will, *Tim:* I'm ſure the Prieſt, who has the charge of the Soul, muſt needs get the better of him, who has only the Government of the Body.

T. Look ye, *Phil*, in days of yore, when *Purgatory* ſtood in the *Devil*'s way, and ſpoil'd his Cuſtom: when *Pardons* and *Indulgences* ſold well, when *Maſſes* were as good as *Bank-Bills*, when the *Relicks* and *Carcaſs* of a *Saint* were worth all his Eſtate to the *Heirs* and *Executors:* when Religion went to Market, and Salvation came by *Inch of Candle*, then indeed *Soul-broaking* was a good Trade, and your *Spiritual Jobbers* throve and proſper'd: but your Modern Diſcoverers have found, that the Soul can ſhift without *Money* and *Victuals*, and if need be can live upon *Charity:* they know, that Virtue is not to be bought, and that Grace may be had for asking: they can *Repent* and keep their *Money:* and for what Goods they take up at the *Parſons*, it goes wholly into *Tythes* and *Eaſter Dues:* ſo that now a *Pater Noſter* won't ſo much as pay the *Pothecary*, nor an *Abſolution* purchaſe a *Purge*.

P. And very well it is ſo: thou ſeeſt, *Tim*, People will judge for themſelves, and therefore 'tis to no purpoſe to talk of Excommunication.

T. Why ſo? Did that vaniſh with *Purgatory*, or is it inconſiſtent with the Chriſtian Duty of *Self-condemnation?* For if People will

judge for themselves, and let no Body else do't for 'um, they may down with the *Queen's-Bench* as well as *Arches*, and begin all again with the State of Nature.

P. I'm sure such harsh Treatment creates Hatred and Malice.

T. Ay, the more's the pity: 'tis a strange thing that the *Bawd* can't be prevail'd upon to be in Love with *Bridewel*, and the *Pickpocket* to Reverence the *Whipping-Post*——Yet sometimes an exalted *Genius* or two shall arise in an Age, such as *D—Foe* and the *French King*, who can sing *Te Deum* for a good hearty Drubing, or a Hymn to the *Pillory*.

T. Then consider, *Tim:* he that's in the wrong in speculative Notions, can as little live without the Concurrence of others, as he that's in the right.

T. That, as you say, is considerable, and I wonder it should have been omitted among those many pretty fancies that have of late been address'd to the *Parliament:* for suppose now I should not have that very great Reverence or Respect to a Fob or a leathern Purse, that perhaps some other Superstitious People may entertain: Or suppose I should be persuaded, that the Highway is a sort of a *large Common*, and that the Wafts and Strayes belong to the Tenants: and thereupon I seize upon a trespassing Portmantle, or an incroaching Gelding: 'tis plain now, tho' I am wrong in these speculative Notions, I can no more shift without a Highway than any of my Neighbours: and yet such is the rigour of the Government, that if I do but offer to turn these speculative Notions of mine into Practical,

which

which agrees both with the old and new Philosophy, presently a tyrannical Interdict shall come out, and I shall be forbid all the Roads in *Mordant* and *Ogilby*, except only that short Cut from *Holbourn* to St. *Giles*'s. Chap. I.

P. Dost thou think, *Tim*, such treatment can convince? Must it not create Dissimulation and Hypocrisie?

T. What then you fancy, the Courts of *Westminster* must stay Execution, till I first give it under my Hand that I am convinc'd it ought to go against me? Or may every little *Mug-Merchant* and *Retailer of Ale*, think you, refuse his share of the *Excise*, till he is first satisfy'd in the Justice of the War, and seriously resolv'd to come into the *Grand Alliance?* In truth, *Phil*, *Hypocrites* are as necessary in a State as *Bumb-bayleys*: would you have the World come to that pass, that Rogues might go barefac'd? would you have *Masses* as publick as *Ballads?* and *Crucifixes* and *Reliques* lye up and down in *Parlour Windows*, as common as *Apricot-Stones* and *Tobacco-Pipes?*

P. Not so, *Tim*: but I would have Excommunication only to be used for breaking those common Rules, by which Men subsist in Societies: And if the Clergy claim a Jurisdiction in these Matters, what can be exempt from their Power?

T. Your meaning is, I suppose, that the Clergy should Excommunicate for Civil Causes, that then you might very justly charge 'um with Usurpation: but if by the common Rules of Societies, you mean the Laws of every Society, that's well enough, and we take

you at your word: for the *common Law* is the common Rule of the State, the *Ecclesiastical Law* is the common Rule of the Church, and the *Statutes* are the common Rule of a *College:* and 'tis for the breach of these common Rules, that each Society Banishes, Expels, and Excommunicates; but if by common Rules, you mean the first Principles in Politicks, or some of the commanding Axioms from *Grotius* or *Puffendorf:* so that Men should be Banish'd or Excommunicated for not being Just, Honest, publick Spirited, Magnanimous and Wise, without any more particular assignment of their Duty: I tell you plainly, *Phil*, before I would live under such a Government, I would take Lodgings in the *Inquisition*, or transport my self to *Tunis* or *Madagascar*—— In the mean time, I would have you look out for better Arguments against Church Power, for notwithstanding what you threaten'd, I do not find but that the *Canons* and *Rubrick* keep their places, and *Justinian* is as plump and jolly as ever he was: To which purpose: you resolve at *pag.* 41, to examine the matter more *fully:* which indeed is very well resolv'd, because you had hitherto examin'd the matter but very *emptily*.

P. That's spiteful enough: but I need not return it, since thou hast put thy self under such a Power, as will give me ample Vengeance: for consider with thy self, *Tim*, if the Clergy by Excommunication can debar Men of everlasting Life, and make all Mankind shun and abhor 'um: who would not part with his best Properties, and even Life it self to avoid such a Punishment?

T. True,

T. True, *Phil:* for here a pack of Rogues have gone about to persuade People out of all Reverence to the *Stocks*, and Respect to the *Gallows:* they say, that as to *Tyburn*, *hang it! 'tis but a gentle Swing, and a Tour into foreign Parts:* and for the Stocks, *they may perhaps hold a Man by the Legs, when he's drunk, and has no occasion for 'um:* and so they'll argue, *what matters it to be turn'd out of the Church? They can go somewhere else;* Now I'd have you convince these Rogues of their Folly, and let 'um know that Excommunication is a little more to be valu'd than so: and be sure you make it as terrible as you can contrive, that the Rascals may know their Destiny, and what they must come to: But of all Loves I beseech you don't let 'um have the least intimation of a Fee, or a Composition, for then they'll snort and fling up their Noses, and perhaps call you *Shimei* or *Baalam*, and throw in a *Modern Anathema*, which they'll give you cheaper than your own, because those are, it seems, to be pay'd for: And the meaning of all this is, that these same Scoundrels have at last discover'd, that tho' Temporal Life for Everlasting be a very good Exchange, yet it can never be a Bargain: and therefore since Communion is not to be bought, nor Religion to be sold, they'll never part with their Money when it brings nothing: and as for parting with Life, they find that will never do, since should they hang themselves or drown themselves, ten to one if you'd allow 'um Christian [a] Burial——They know very well, that he who is not worth a Groat, has yet wherewithal to satisfie and attone the Anger

Chap. I.

[a] Vide *Dialogue of the Grave-digers in* Hamlet.

Chap. I. Anger of the Church: and therefore tho' th
pay a *Shilling* for a Curse of their own, t
won't give a *Tester* for one of the Chu
Anathema's: for the Pocket can't attone
the Breeches, nor the Purse for the Pettic
and he who commutes for Penance, ma
well turn spiritual Bawd, and procure fo
Whore of *Babylon*.

P. But suppose, *Tim*, their Power be
so strict, yet if it belongs to them to proh
they must judge of the Measure and Exte
that Prohibition: And who shall interpo

T. Who indeed? For suppose, I am sup
Judge and Disposer of my Corn Fields,
other my Lands and Possessions: insomuch
I can doom *Clapgate* to the Plow, and d
Pinch-pig to Pasturage: it must needs fo
that I am also supreme Judge of their Ex
so that I can make one Fifty Acres, and t'
a Hundred: or which is all one, take in
much Ground as will certainly make 'un
with a Defiance to the whole Country, a
Challenge to all that shall interpose; An
I am cruelly afraid, whilst I am enlargin
Inclosures, some body or another, no m
who, will find one for me that shall be
row enough, and the *Sheriff* and *Neigh*
hood will interpose most magisterially;
therefore you may talk of an Ecclesiastica
tent: but an *Extent* from the *Chequer* wou
more to the purpose, and a *Prohibition*
the *Queen's-Bench* shall carry off the sto
Ecclesiastical *Prohibition*, in the Twinkli
a *Tipstaff*.

P. Prithee, *Tim*, do but consult Hi
and see the dreadful Effects of Excomm

tion among the *Jews*, the *Germans*, and *Gauls*: whereby Men have been driven into Wilds and Wildernesses, to graze among Beasts, and sometimes forc'd to perish, or which is worse to lay violent hands on themselves: and some *Moderns* have manag'd this Power very much to their own Advantage, by beggaring (if Fame be not a Lyar) many an honest *Dissenter*. Chap. I.

T. All this is to let me know, that you have read those, who have read *Grotius*, *Selden* and *Josephus*: and perhaps you have seen 'um your self, or at least their *Indexes*: which I could have suppos'd for you, as well as what I have done already; But can I help all this? If things be amiss among the *Jews*, do you summon the *Sanhedrim*, and make a Speech to 'um to reform: and if the *Germans* think Excommunication so terrible, prithee advise what Troops are now in the *Ferrarese* to quit their Quarters? But for the *Druids*, I must confess, I have very little Acquaintance among 'um, *Dion Chrysostome*, perhaps, may give you directions, and you may write a Civil Epistle to 'um; As to the *Pope*, he's out of the way at present, but you may go over and convert him if you think fit: and withal advise him to go on vigorously with his new Levies, and keep the Thunder of his Excommunication against a better Opportunity: But be sure you let him know, that whatever hopes *his Holiness* may please to entertain of us, 'tis quite otherwise here in *Britain*: He it may be may *Thunder*, but if we let fly a *Squib*, or a *Cracker*, Mr. *Mayor* is presently offended: That indeed we were once persuad-

Chap. I. ed by Mr. *Dryden*, whose Son we hear is in good repute with his Holiness, *that Priests of all Religions being the same*, we should in a little time have been all as great and as *arch* as e'er a *Pontiff* of 'um all: and that tho' we were further encourag'd herein by our very good Friends the *Presbyterians*, that Popery was a coming in almost every *Sunday* in the Year: yet we find that *his Holiness* has utterly forgot us, and lives as many Miles off as ever: That true it is, they call us *Tyrants* and *Persecutors*, and are very uneasie, that we should offer to contradict 'um, by letting 'um live at peace: That they groan and sigh, and cry out, like People *bewitch'd*, and yet none but themselves, can see who torments 'um: And these holding good Intelligence at *Rome*, his Holiness must needs know, what a brave Party he has here of *Sin-swindgers* and Ecclesiastical *Banditti*: And yet he that shall examine our Nails and Teeth, will find as little reason to think us such terrible Folks, as to imagine any of the rational Inhabitants of *Billinsgate*, to be *Owls*, *Dogs*, *Asses* and *Monkeys*, because now and then mention'd in that Style, by some of their *Metaphorical* Neighbours: so that at present if any inquisitive *Vertuoso* has a mind to know more of *Persecution*, we refer him to *Ovid de Tristibus*, who has written very passionately on the Subject; If indeed some of our *out-lying Guards* have now and then plunder'd an honest *Dissenter*, that is, provided Fame be not a Liar (as I grievously suspect she is) yet if there was a Time, and is still a Place, when and where the honest Dissenter did plunder here and there an honest Church-man, as I have

have heard the same *Lady Tittle Tattle* menti- Chap. I.
on such a thing, why then there's very little reason People of such exact Notions should differ, unless you allow some odds between her *Majesties Persecutors* of *Hockley* in the *Hole*, as by *Law establish'd*, and the sneaking, unlicens'd, separate Assemblies of *Wrestlers* and *Revellers*, where there's not a Man can plead a Title to the Cudgels, or shew a Commission for a broken Head.

P. In the mean time, do but observe, *Tim*, how sensible the Nation was of the *Pope*'s Incroachments, notwithstanding thou can'st ridicule 'um at such a rate: they declare, the 37 *Hen.* VIII. *cap.* 17. that the *Popes* hindring Laymen from Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, was that they might get and gather to themselves, the Rule and Government of the whole World.

T. No body pretends to say, *Phil*, that the Scripture makes a *Dean of the Arches*, or that every one who is ordain'd, is ordain'd Judge of a *Spiritual Court*: but the *Pope*, it seems, had such a fancy, and having made almost all Causes Ecclesiastical, or in *Ordine ad* (which is every whit as unlucky) he would have the *Ecclesiastical Court* govern all, and he and no body else should govern the *Ecclesiastical Court*: thereupon, an *Act* (as *Acts* of *Parliament* are certainly very strong Convictions) was sent over to let him know, that from henceforth it might be lawful for any *Archbishop*, *Bishop*, *Arch-deacon* or *Chancellor*, to depute a Lay Judge, to sit and hear Causes there: it being reasonable to suppose, that tho' the Interpretation of *Scripture* belong'd

Chap. I. ſoundly, and let me ſee e'er a *Detachment* of the *Guards* offer to come to his reſcue; And yet ſuch a Thing may be: and ſo the King may break the *Rules* of the *Church*, or the *Orders and Advice* of his *Miniſters*, or the *Preſcriptions* of his *Doctor*: But then he can no more be ſaid to rebel againſt the Church, than to commit Treaſon againſt his *Phyſician*, or Mutiny againſt the *Privy-Council*.

P. But why may not the Clergy, if they excommunicate for one Sin, do the ſame for another? Breach of Property is a Sin, and ſo are Rebellion and Perjury: and by theſe means, they may come to determine concerning Oaths, *Allegiances*, and all Civil Rights whatever.

T. Now in the Name of *Necromancy*, What d'ye take me for? Am I *Œdipus*, *Burgeſs*, *Merlin*, or *Mother Shipton*? If you'll put Riddles and cramp Queſtions, go to the *Athenian Club* or *Britiſh Apollo*, and ask 'um, Where *Cain's Wife* lodg'd? Who was the *Inventor* of *Spoons*? And what was *Muggleton*'s eldeſt Daughter's Cozen German's *Chriſtian Name*? Can I tell, if a *Juſtice* is to keep the *Peace*, why he mayn't do't by hanging by the Neck, as well as laying by the Heels? But becauſe one is not in his Commiſſion, as well as t'other; Can I tell, why the *Commiſſioners* ſhould not as well make War and Peace, as determine concerning the *Land-Tax*, unleſs I look into the *Statute*? And yet I have heard ſome ſhrewd People ſay, That thoſe Crimes are properly Eccleſiaſtical, which are moſt ſcandalous and notorious, and ſuch as can have no Plea or Excuſe in their behalf: Injuſtice may be palliated a Thouſand ways, and there are different accounts of *Allegiance*:

legiance: but *Fornication is Fornication* all the World over, and there never was yet an *innocent Adultery*, but only that in *Scaron*. Chap. I.

P. There's still worse to come: For if the Clergy can determine of *Feasts and Fasts*, why may they not assume the sole Power in Meats, Drinks, Cloaths, and all the Necessaries and Conveniencies of Life?

T. And may not the same *Parliament*, that has taken care to regulate our *Buttons*, pass an Act against Hats, Periwigs, and clean Linnen, and so undo half the *Beaus* in Town? May there not, think you, come out an *Interdict* against *roast Beef*, or an *Embargo* upon *Plumb Pudding?* This, I'll assure you, may be: but 'twould be a very odd thing indeed, if the Clergy should augment the *Apostolical number* to *twenty-four*, or make *Christmass* come twice a Year, in spite of the Proverb; I'll assure you, I don't know so much as one *Holiday*, that the *Church of England* ever undertook to appoint, and yet 'tis not for want of *Saints* neither: there's a whole *Catalogue* of 'um in *Baxter*, and he has taken care to give 'um *everlasting Rest* in the other World, to recompence 'um for being so very unquiet in this; We have, God be thanked, but one *extraordinary Martyr*, and be sure you take care, that we shall never have another: tho' I cannot see, why the *highest* and *most publick Authority* we have, should not make that day solemn, as well as a *private Club* can make it ridiculous, by buffooning their *Monarch*, as the *Israelites* did their *God*, *in comparing him with the Similitude of a Calf that eateth Hay*; Therefore set your Heart at

Chap. I.

rest, *Phil*, as for Days of *Humiliation*, I know, if you please, you could give a very shrewd Reason, why the Clergy should not insist much on them: and as to *Thanksgiving-days*, I can satisfie you, we have left the making of them to the *Army* in *Flanders*.

P. 'Tis true indeed, the same things may be both Civil and Ecclesiastical, as I hinted in the Case of *Oaths*: now if the State punishes on a Civil, and the Church on an Ecclesiastical account, this will subject a Person to *two Trials* for the same Crime, which is apparently unjust.

T. Not where the same Crime injures divers Persons: as in that memorable Case put by an *eminent* [a] *Lawyer*: *A* throws down a *Ladder*, and kills *B* the Mason, and breaks *C's* Windows, and hurts *D* great with Child: every one of these shall have an Action against *A*, and subject him to three Trials for the same *Ladder*; But suppose the Action be single, suppose there is but one Plaintiff, and all upon the same account: yet if he be dispos'd to make the *Tour* of the *Law*, and see the World a little, he shall lead him from the *Justice* to the *Sessions*, and thence to the *Queen's Bench*, the *Chequer*, the *Chancery*, and *House of Lords*, and so subject him to *six Trials* for the same Cause, and on the same Account; you may, if you please, say this is unjust: but if I should offer to say so, I should hardly sleep anon for dreaming of *Tipstaves* and *Messengers*; Now where the Tryals are on different accounts, tho' the Fact be the same, no one ever question'd the Matter: as in Case of *Murder*, the *Queen* has one Trial for the loss of a

[a] *See the* English Rogue.

Subject, and the *Heir* another for the loſs of a *Relation*: and yet where a Man endeavours to repair this loſs, by getting a *Baſtard*, the *Pariſh* ſhall proſecute for *Damages*, the *Juſtice* commit for *Diſorder*, and the *Church* excommunicate for *Scandal*: nay, when all this is over, to make the Caſe yet more unjuſt, the *Parſon* ſhall round him in the Ear, and give him notice of a *fourth Trial*, much worſe than the other three. Chap. I.

P. I muſt put thee in mind of another Inconvenience, *Tim*, that ariſes from the independent Right of Ordination: for if that belongs to the Clergy, they may put *State-Miniſters* into Orders, and ſo remove 'um from the Publick Service: or ordain ſuch vaſt numbers of Subjects, as may prejudice the Government.

T. And after the ſame manner, becauſe our *Cities* and *Burroughs* have by their *Charter* an independent Right to make Freemen, therefore they may make the whole Kingdom ſo: and becauſe their *Freemen* are their *Subjects*, therefore they ſhall uſurp the Throne, and ſeize upon the Government; 'Tis well, *Phil*, that the Order of the Clergy is not ſo far debas'd, but that ever now and then, an *honourable Perſon*, will liſt an *Eccleſiaſtical Volunteer*: but he that can ſuppoſe, that the *Biſhops* may go about in *Preſs-gangs*, and ſeize all that come in their way, may very well carry his Notion a little farther, and ſuppoſe they may go and lay violent Hands on the *Commons* and make 'um vote with the *Convocation* of Courſe: or go and ordain the *Army* in *Flanders*, and make the *General* a *Metropolitan*, and the War a *Holy one*: which would be the beſt Contri-

Chap. I. vance you have yet discover'd, for the overthrow of *Spiritual Babylon*.

P. In the mean time, the *Dissenters* would be sure to suffer: they must be forbid all Commerce and Entercourse with the Churchmen: for they who are in the Right, can never deal with those in the Wrong.

T. Why so? do the *Dissenters* hold, *that no Faith is to be kept with Hereticks?* For I'll assure you, the Church does not; If, as you say, we differ about *indifferent things*, must we do so too about *Meum* and *Tuum*, and Matters of Moment? Tho' my Neighbour and I vary a little about *Lawn*, yet we may, perhaps, deal together very lovingly for *Drugget* or *Muslin*; I grant, if the *Conventicle* had as much to do in the Government as the *Church*, things might be otherwise: for they might vote it, perhaps, that a *Church Groat* should go but for *three Pence*: or they might lay a Tax upon *Herrings* and *May-poles*, or Levy *twelve Pence* a Head from those that went to *Church*, tho' never so *occasionally*: But as it is, methinks we jog on quietly together, and we do not scruple to call 'um Brethren, so long as they give us *the right Hand of Fellowship*.

P. That may be well enough, but *High-Church* won't be so satisfy'd: if they are but once allow'd to govern, they'll presently require all that's necessary thereto, and so they'll be for raising *Spiritual Taxes and Sessments*.

T. Oh, that can never be: if a single Person or a Society have an independent Right to Government, that is, to some sort of Government or other, whether it be *Charter*, *Patent* or *Freehold*, it shall not presently follow, that

he shall have all those Perquisites belonging to his Government, which the *Cham* of *Tartary* enjoys or the *Sophi* of *Persia:* And therefore, if the *Squire*'s Dog-kennel be out of repair, he must not think to call a Court of *Ways* and *Means*, and rebuild it by a Tax upon the Mannor: and if the Mayor of *Wooten-Basset*, happens to have a Quarrel with the Mayor of *Largeshalle* he must not presently resolve to proclaim War against him, and beat up his Drums for Burgesses, or make Use of the *new Pressing Act*, to oblige 'um to the Service; the *Squire*, the *Mayor*, and the *Parson*, have their just Maintenance, and *God*, and the *Queen* be thanked, 'tis a Comfortable one: and tho' the Church may have Enemies, nay, tho' the *Devil*, the great One of all, should appear and make War in Person, Yet she has no Authority to Levy *four shillings* in the *Pound*, or to grant Commissions of *Array*, or raise Money by an *Ecclesiastical Excise*, notwithstanding that *Canon* in the *Greek Grammar*, Αγγυριας, *&c*, nay tho', she were very sure, that the best way to Kill the *Devil*, would be to fight him at *his own Weapons*.

P. But then supposing the Church to be independent, as well as the State, their Power must destroy each other: for as the Church cannot by Excommunication take a Subject from the State, so neither can the State take one from the Church, by Death, Banishment, or Imprisonment.

T. And so you really think, that if I have hired a *Servant*, or taken a *Prentice*, or which is full as good, begotten a good chopping *Boy*: and these *Subjects* of mine rebel against

Chap. I. my Government, and affront my *Majesty*: I must not lash my *Son*, correct my *Servant*, or give my *Boy Tom* the Strappado: and if I offer it, they may enter their *Protest*, and say, they are the *Queen's liege Subjects*, upon her Ground, within her Dominions, and so defie me to touch 'um; Here indeed I like your Solution best, when you say *a Man is a Subject to every Kingdom he travels through:* Now I do tell you, when that Man goes upon the *High way*, then he's upon *Secular Ground* and the Territories of the *State*, but when he gets to Bed to his *Maid*, then he's within the *Pale of the Church*.

P. Now I fancy, 'twill be very hard for People to separate from a Man upon an Ecclesiastical, and yet correspond with him on a Civil *Account?*

T. Why that now would make a rare *Motto* for a *Pamphlet* against *Toleration:* tho' I cannot think it so hard: for 'tis but making or supposing some small difference between the *Church* and the *Market-house*, and the Business is done to a Nicety; I can keep Company with a *Pack of Dogs* upon *Banstead-downs*, or correspond very lovingly with a *Brace of Grey-hounds* on *Hampstead-heath:* but should the *Sexton* whip *Rockwood* out of the Chancel, or the *Pew-keeper* kick *Juno* off the Hassock: There I should desire to be excus'd from taking their Parts, or owning their Acquaintance.

P. But then how will you distinguish Governors? For if both have their independent Rights, the King when he puts a Bishop to Death, as for good Causes he may, must be *Subject* and *Sovereign* to the same Person; for

for tho' he's *Sovereign* in Civils, yet he is a *Subject* in Ecclesiasticals. Chap. I

T. And in the same sad Condition is he, when he hangs his *Cook*, or depose his *head Mason*: as he may, I fancy, for just Reasons also do: for is he not their *Sovereign* in *Civils*, but their *Subject* in *Architecture* and *Cookery*? And in the same Manner, he is also the Subject of a *Jest* or a *Poem*, and yet for all that, the *Majesty* of Mr. *Tate* is not secure from Satyr: Nor Mr. *Vanbrook*'s imaginary Kingdom in the *Hay-market*, as good as that of *Great Britain*.

P. Nay, *Tim*, the Temporal must yield to the Spiritual: and therefore the Church may depose the Sovereign: which was the Case of *Ludovicus Pius*, and the Clergy in their condemnatory Sentence, say, *'Twas done by the Council of God.*

T. Look ye, *Phil*, you may, if you please, say, That the Church can depose their Sovereign, but I would not say it after you for Shoebuckles: and I am very glad you only say it: for had you offer'd at a Proof I know not what would have become of you; And I remember you say somewhere else, *That the People may depose their Monarch*: Now I do tell you, that the Clergy are none of these People: and yet they have some of 'um as good a Brace of Legs and Arms, as the bravest *Mob* in *Moorfields*; 'Tis true indeed, the Temporal must yield to the Spiritual: that is, the Temporal must be first, and the Spiritual last: the Temporal is present, and the Spiritual to come: Now I am tolerably well persuaded, that the Temporal could not be

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present, if the Spiritual were to take before it: and therefore I fancy, that so long as the Temporal does last, it will of Course be uppermost: So that the Spiritual has no more, to do to interpose, than St. *Peter* has to claim the Office of *Porter* at St. *James*'s, or the *Angel Gabriel* to be her *Majesties Envoy* at the *Hague*; And therefore the Politicians in *Forty-one* went a little more wisely to work, than either you or the *French Bishops*, for they first prov'd that the *Kingdom of Christ* was come, and then, you know, the *Kingdoms of the Earth* were to be dissolv'd in Course: And yet I could never learn they quoted that Text for't——*The things that are seen are Temporal, &c.* tho' had they luck'd upon your Application, I question not, but it might have rais'd as many Troops as, *Curse ye Meroz* ——— Or, *To thy Tents, O Israel* —— However, when they had depos'd their *Sovereign*, as *Pious* as your *Ludovicus* to the full, they said as your *Bishops* did, and I believe 'tis the only thing in which they ever did agree with *Bishops, that 'twas done by the Council of God:* But then that Council having never yet, as we know of, been reveal'd, and being a secret Council, discover'd only to those, who had occasion for't: therefore you are to understand that the rest of the World could never yet have a true Account of the Matter.

P. Well, *Tim*, thou may'st laugh it all off as thou pleaseest: My Principles oblige me, to use only Arguments with thee: but I'm sure, they who assert any independent Rights in the Church, however they may complement the

State,

State, deal by it, as the *Epicureans* did by God, *Verbis ponere, re tollere.* Chap. I.

T. Nay, 'tis all your own, as firm and fast as can be: that is, if you'll mean by the Independent Power, *the Lords*, *the Commons*, *and the Queen*; tho' I can't chuse but admire those same merry *Epicureans* of yours: I'll warrant they were smart Fellows ——— *Verbis ponere, re tollere!* ——— Why there's a great difference between 'um —— A *verbal* and a *real* Remove! But should any Body in that smart Age have written a Book of *Rights*, with an *Introduction* disclaiming all independent Power, and the *first Chapter* as stifly justifying it: such a Project as that ——— *Verbis ponere & verbis tollere* ——— would have been so very gross a Business, that the jollieſt *Epicurean* of 'um all could never have *digested* it.

P. And yet such a Contradiction is still to be met with: you see to what a pitch *Bellarmin* and the *Papists* strain Ecclesiastical Power: and the same Methods are taking here: the Church is rising step by step: it gains one thing first, then another: and if once you grant it the independent Exercise of Ecclesiastical Offices, 'twill soon be too hard for the State.

T. Nay, 'tis easy to trace the *Pope's* steps, that's certain: His *Foot's* as remarkable as his *Toe*: it takes large strides, and goes deep into the Sand: You know the *Monster* by his *Claw*; And indeed you have well observ'd, *that* Rome *was not built in a Day*, if you are sure 'twas never observ'd before you: And yet tho' 'twas not built in a Day, I can tell you

Chap. I. in a Minute, how the building was contriv'd; They had first a few *Divine Rights* given 'um, with which they laid the *foundation:* and thereupon they built a *Chappel*, and got it settled on them and their *Heirs:* In the next place, they set up at one end of the Chappel, a *Treasury:* and after that a *Court of Justice* at t'other end: Then they look'd out another convenient Corner, and there they erected a *Toy-shop:* When this was done, they measur'd out an *Artillery Garden:* And having at last elected a *Governour*, they built him a *Tribunal* and a *Palace*; Now you must know, the building was so contriv'd, that every Room had some dependence more or less upon the *Chapel*: And that being founded in *Divine Right*, the *Palace*, the *Treasury*, and *Tribunal*, were all suppos'd to be of Divine Right too: And for those who would not acknowledge it, they dug under ground, and there made a *Slaughter-house*; And thus rose *Rome:* but I must observe to you, 'twas in a Critical Age, when the *outside* was more regarded than the *Furniture*: for were it to build now, I would not be an *Undertaker* for twice Ten Pound: for we have taken the *Plan* to pieces, *we have put too the Plummet and the Line, we have examin'd the Wall, and those that dawb'd it with untemper'd Mortar*, we have found the *corner Stones* and taken 'um out of the Rubbish: and therefore should we pretend to build after their *Model*, the *Children* of *Edom would very justly come upon us, and pull down the Carved work thereof with Axes and Hammers*; In short, *Phil*, the cry of *Popery* was once a *Modish Lure*, and would make the Mob Dance merrily after

ter it, but now 'tis hoarse and out of tune, and will signifie no more, than a *Quail Pipe* under a *Rookery*, or an *Organ* among *Jackdaws:* And as for any other steps the Church may take towards that greatness, which we are sure is design'd for her: tho' 'tis very improvident to take many, if as you say, that single one of independent Right, will bring her to her Journy's end: speed her well, say I!. Let her go on, and prosper: *Step by Step! Kid by Kid! Bean by Bean! till she comes to God's House*; I wish her well for my Brethren and Companions sake: [a] *As she is all glorious within, so let her cloathing be of wrought Gold: and may she be the King's Daughter; The Daughter of* Babylon *is not so unspotted, nor her little sister half so lovely, for she has no breasts; she looketh forth as the Morn, fair as the Moon, clear as the Sun, were she but as terrible as an Army with banners; As the Lilly among the Thorns, so is she among the Daughters: she is all fair, there is no spot in her: she is white and ruddy, the chiefest among ten thousand: her mouth is most sweet, her lips are like scarlet, her speech is comely: yea, she is altogether lovely; From the top of* Shenir *and* Hermon, *from the Lyons dens, and from the mountains of the Leopards, let her be brought to the banqueting house, and let the banner over her be, Love; for lo, the winter is past, the rain is over and gone; while the King sitteth at his Table, her spikenard sendeth forth the smell thereof; Behold the King, with the Crown, wherewith she crowned him in the day of his espousals, and in the day of the gladness of his heart; set her as a seal upon his*

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[a] See the Psalms and Canticles.

Chap. I. *his heart, as a seal upon his arm: for love is strong as death, jealousie is cruel as the Grave; Her vineyard which is hers is before her: thou, O King, must have a thousand, and those that keep the fruit thereof, two hundred; There are threescore Queens, and Concubines without number: all these have flourish'd, why not the Dove, the undefiled one? for the daughters have seen her, and blessed her: yea, the Queens and the Concubines, and they prais'd her; Return! Return! O* Shulamite, *Return! Return! that we may look upon thee: what would you see in the* Shulamite? *as it were the Company of two Armies.* —— In short, *Phil*, should I persue my Raptures, I would make it appear, that the *Prophets* have not foretold half so much of the *Treasury* or *Queen's Bench*, nor the *Canticles* said any such thing of either of the *India Companies*.

P. Prithee, *Tim*, leave *Raptures* and attend to sound Reason: How wilt thou justifie those, that say, the State may condemn a *Bishop* to death, but not deprive him? Which must needs make the *Bishop* at the same time, Independent, and yet subject to the State.

T. Why that now, *Phil*, must needs be very strange, and yet I fancy, with good looking, a Man may find things every whit as strange, somewhere or other within a Mile of an *Oak*: for if that same *Oak* happens to grow upon a *freehold bargain*, of but *Ten Shillings* a Year: The Magistrate, say he can't deprive the owner of that small business, without depriving him of his Life: which last the Magistrate, I fancy may do upon occasion; And so

so will I venture to say, the Magistrate can't pluck out a Man's Teeth, or cut his Nose off: so that every Man that's sound and whole, is Master of an *independent Nose*, *and set of Teeth:* and yet to see the strange turn of human Affairs, the very Neck, nay, the whole Body, to which this very Identick Nose belongs, shall sometimes be both *pendent* and *dependent*, as the Magistrate pleases; And tho' you venture to say, *that such a Principle will provoke the Magistrate to do his worst*, yet we are so well satisfy'd of his gentle disposition, that we dare assert it, without supposing that the *Guards* shall be sent forth to cut all the current Throats in the Kingdom for the *Resumption* of *Crown Lands*; and to justifie you in that other miraculous Business, That the same Person may be both *Subject* and *Sovereign* at the same time, that is, upon a various account, and under different respects: And not only so, but that he may also be *Supreme* and *Subordinate*, *High* and *Low*, *First* and *Second*, *Antecedent* and *Consequent*, I need only refer you to the *Tree of Consanguinity*, the *Arbor Porphyriana*, *Hobbs's Sciences*, the *Ten Predicaments*, and *Zacutus's Team of Black Puddings*. Chap. I.

P. I demand of thee, *Tim*, when the Clergy Excommunicate for *Wills*, is this done by Authority from *Christ*, or from the Magistrate?

T. From the Magistrate, no doubt;——but there are other causes, such as *Scandal*, *Fornication*, &c, for which they Excommunicate by an *Apostolical* Right.

P. How

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P. How so? Are the grossest *carnal* Causes more *Spiritual* than others?

T. A *carnal* Cause, *Phil*, can never be tolerably *Spiritual*: but the grosser the carnal Cause is, the greater the affront to the spiritual Power: so that this ought first to be suppreſt.

P. However, *Tim*, you allow that Excommunication for *wills*, &c, is the Magistrate's favour to the Church: Now how could he give the Church a Right to it, if it did not first belong to him?

T. To please you, *Phil*, I'll put you a case of your own, which will clear up this very handsomely: *Every one by Nature*, say you, *has a right to punish any one that injures him*: Now the Magistrate comes, and sets forth by such and such Laws, how and for what causes this Right of Punishment shall be exercis'd: not that therefore he gives this Right, for it came by Nature, before he was thought on; Now take our Case: Excommunication, say we, belongs by a Scriptural Right to the Church, and is to be inflicted for such and such, the most notorious and scandalous Crimes, Now comes the Magistrate, and he allows the Church to inflict this her Spiritual Penalty for the breach also of other Privileges and Immunities, which he is pleas'd to add to our Jurisdiction: not that therefore he gives the Right, but only the extent of it: for the Right came by Scripture: and in order to make it Civil and Secular, and so save your Argument, the best way will be, where they now only Excommunicate, to let 'um *hang*, *draw*, and *quarter*.

P. I

P. I hope you don't deny, that the Magi- Chap. I.
ſtrate has a Power to uſe force in Eccleſiaſti-
cals, and yet his force is not borrow'd of the Church: or is he oblig'd, think you, to aſſiſt the Church in the Execution of their Decrees? If it be ſo, the Magiſtrate, I'm ſure, can't uſe force, but in thoſe things, to which his Power extends: and therefore the *Scotch Kirk* acts moſt conſiſtently, by not ſuffering the State to back their Excommunications: and if the Magiſtrate executes another's Decree, then he's their Executioner and Miniſter only: if his own, then they only adviſe: if he's not to judge, but to inforce, then the old abſurdity returns, that the Clergy may command the force of the Society.

T. For ſhame of the World, and ſpeech of People, Phil! May not the Magiſtrate, think you, aſſiſt me in the getting of an Eſtate, to which he has himſelf no Title? Or do you imagine that all Lands in queſtion, are really veſted in the *Lord Chancellor*, till he conveys 'um over to ſome *Petitioner?* So that if you mean by the State's not being able to uſe force, but only in thoſe things to which it's Power extends, that it cannot uſe its force but only where it may: I do tell you, that you are moſt *furiouſly* in the right on't: but if you mean, it cannot uſe its force but in thoſe things, of which it has the abſolute Diſpoſal: I'm ſure by the ſame reaſon, the *Sheriff* may put himſelf into *Poſſeſſion*, as well as the *Proprietor*; Now if the Church does ſometimes aſſiſt the State, 'tis becauſe they are united in one league of Amity, and deſign to live lovingly together: and the State does well to return it;

if

Chap. I. if the *Commons* have their Privileges broken, or a *Corporation* their *Charter* and Customs violated, they can command the force of the Society, without detriment to the *Prerogative Royal:* Now the Church is content with the Power of a *Court Leet* or *Baron*, which the *Lord* holds by an independent Right, and yet can have his Decrees and Amercements back'd and inforc'd by the *Exchequer:* and in these he has a right somewhat more than Advice, he can claim and demand it; 'Tis true, where People have little breeding and less Eloquence, and yet happen to have their Pockets pick'd: they may go and summon a *Justice*, *Come thou! and avenge me of my Enemy: I have decreed concerning him, that he shall certainly go to Jayl: Come thou! and give me thy force to carry him thither: for thou art the people's Minister, and Executioner, and I can quote* St. Peter *to prove it.* Thus you, or any Body else, may, when you please, let your *Tongues* run, if you are sure 'twill put your *Heels* in no danger of being made fast: but I should much rather apply thus —— *To your Honour's Worship and Wisdom, most humbly sheweth, your Honour's Orator* —— or thus —— *Seeing that by thee we enjoy great quietness, and that very worthy Deeds are done unto this Parish,* &c. —— This now would be something, *Phil:* and tho' 'twas a Form made use of against *St Paul*, tis much better than quoting *St. Peter*; But as to the *Scotch Kirk*, how consistently they act in backing their own Decrees I know not: but this I'm sure of, that if the *English Kirk* should act as consistently, I

ſome People would ſay *ſomething*, tho' I can't readily tell *what*. Chap. I.

P. Prithee, *Tim*, ſpeak out: thou know'ſt the Papiſts are very free upon this account: they ſay, if the State does not ſupport the Church's Right, the Crown and Government are thereby become forfeit.

T. What's all this to the Death of fair Roſamond? If the *Papiſts* ſay any ſuch thing, can we help it? For my part, I think 'um all *Sons* of *Babyloniſh Whores* for their pains: and if you have a mind to ſhow your Talent upon this account, do ſo: never ſpare 'um, but down with the Rogues, and make 'um aſham'd of their *Roguery* and *Babyloniſhneſs*; but if you have the leaſt thirſt for Fame, and hope to flouriſh in your Generation: I would deſire you not to forget thoſe other *Rogues* too, that ſay the Magiſtrate forfeits his Crown, if he does not ſupport the Rights of the People: for then the Clergy will be ſure to reckon themſelves among thoſe ſame People, on purpoſe to have a ſhare in the forfeit: and I know of no device, whereby to exclude 'um: unleſs you can prove, that orders really *ſpiritualize* a Man, and deprive him of all *Brawn* and *Bulk*: ſo that he is for ever excluded the *viſible Communion* of the *Mob*, and has loſt all his ſhare in *Entity* and *Quiddity*.

P. This, I'm ſure, I can prove: that 'tis a notorious Contradiction, for the Church to expect that the State ſhould inforce their Decrees: and yet to ſay, that 'tis Sacrilege for the State to meddle with 'um: this is the ſame thing, as if one Prince ſhould deſire another

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Prince to come into his Country, and there execute Laws and adminiſter Juſtice: and yet at the ſame time ſhould charge that Prince, for ſo doing, with Uſurpation and Wrong.

T. Why this, as you ſay, at firſt appearance looks very odd and unlucky: but I fancy now, if we take the Churches Country, and the States Country, and mark 'um as they do in *Maps*, we ſhall find no Reaſon perhaps why theſe two *Princes* ſhould differ, any more than the two *Kings of Brentford*; from Adultery, Fornication, *&c*, to Excommunication, or an Excluſion from the Publick Worſhip: ſo far, the Churches Country reaches; Now when a Criminal is baniſh'd this Country, the State may ſeize him and welcome: for all beyond is theirs: and yet in order to oblige 'um not to take his part, we plead an ancient Treaty Offenſive and Defenſive, which we queſtion not will be kept inviolate; the State does not uſurp upon the Church by *Arreſting*, becauſe that is not *Excommunication*: neither the Church upon the State by *Excommunication*, for that is not *Arreſting*: but each has its proper ſhare and allotment; And therefore to give you Caſe for Caſe, I'll ſuppoſe one boy beats another, or invades his *Cherry-ſtones*, or uſurps upon his *Bread and Butter*: the injur'd Party has, if he be too weak to cope with his Adverſary, good reaſon to run away from him, and to ſhun and avoid him, as a Perſon dangerous to Society, and a violator of the Laws of Nature: but if he can find ſome other more able *Lad*, whom he can employ to take Vengeance upon the *Tyrant*, to drub him in his natural Capacity, and ſtore

ſtore the true owner to his Rights and Properties: good reaſon has he, that is thus reſtor'd, to account of ſuch a one as his moſt *dear Cozen, and his moſt faithful Friend, Ally, and Confederate:* but if this very Champion, after he had reſcu'd the Prey, ſhould himſelf pretend a right to't: this would be a worſe uſurpation than t'other, and leave the poor injur'd Plaintiff in utter deſpair of his Cherryſtones; and he, who has had the happineſs of being acquainted with *Æſop* in any of his *Deformities*, whether *Proſe* or *Verſe*, *Epſom* or *Tunbridge*, *Engliſh*, *Latin*, *Greek* or *Arabick:* may ſee this lamentable Caſe verify'd in the Perſon of the *Horſe*, that crav'd aid of a Country-man againſt the * *Stag:* for tho' he aveng'd him of his Enemy, yet he had no Title therefore from *Schoppius*, to bridle him and ſaddle him, and ride him into ſuch other Battles, as he was by no League or Compact oblig'd to engage in.

Chap. I.

* *The word is (Boar) in the* Epſom *Edition.*

P. Then I ſuppoſe, *Tim*, you inſiſt upon that ſenſeleſs diſtinction: that the Magiſtrate has all *Civil* Power in *Eccleſiaſticals:* an Idle fooliſh ſubterfuge, that, if the word Civil were omitted, would be a direct Contradiction.

T. And what d've think it was put in for? Have you no better opinion of *Prieſtcraft?* Or is it your way, to put in words that ſhall be ſure to [illegible]? One would think ſo indeed, by that terrible term of yours (*Independent*) which in the ſenſe you uſe it, anſwers to nothing that I know of, on this ſide *Olympus:* and yet if that term were omitted,

Chap. I. I cannot readily say what would become of your *first Chapter*.

P. However, if the adding that Term (Civil) makes any alteration, 'tis because Civil is oppos'd to Ecclesiastical: and then, 'tis as good sense as to say, his *Maritime* Power in *Ecclesiasticals*.

T. Nay, for the *Maritime* Power, which the State has been pleas'd to annex to the *Ecclesiastical*, we own it as a favour: and do not so much as pretend the least Divine Right to the part of the *Admiralty*, which belongs to that *Arches*: notwithstanding what has been said—— *his Dominion also shall be from the one Sea to the other*——However, it being pretty plain, that there is some *Maritime* Power belonging to the Ecclesiastical, to your great surprize: 'twill not, I suppose, seem so very wonderful, that there should be also a little Civil Power in the mixture: for Civil and Ecclesiastical are not so oppos'd, as you may perhaps wish they were, that is, as Fire and Water, Dog and Cat: so that they must of necessity quarrel, whenever they come together: But they are so different and distinct, as to be known asunder: and yet for all that, so kind and complaisant, as to agree very well and live Neighbourly by each other; For instance now, the Powers of Ordination, Confirmation, and Administration of the Sacraments, belong, say we, to the *Bishop* by Ecclesiastical Right: and these are so very Ecclesiastical, as to be of Divine Right, and did belong to him before the Church and State united: but then Peerage, Temporal Lordship, and Jurisdiction, tho' they belong to him likewise as

an Eccleſiaſtical Perſon, and are therefore ſometimes call'd Eccleſiaſtical: yet they are not ſo much Eccleſiaſtical as the other, becauſe they are not of Divine Right: but were originally deriv'd from the Magiſtrate: and therefore ſo far as he has reſerv'd an Intereſt therein, they may be call'd Civil; So that by denying a mixture of Civils with Eccleſiaſticals, either you muſt mean, that all the Civils are ſuck'd up and devour'd by the Eccleſiaſticals: which will bring us round again to *Popery* and the *Artillery Garden:* or elſe you are reſolv'd to allow the Clergy no manner of Civils with their Eccleſiaſticals: which is worſe by half than the *Inquiſition*, or the *Maſſacre* at *Paris:* for the thinneſt and moſt mortify'd Beings of all, even *Ariſtotle's Intelligences*, are allow'd now and then a *Civil* Vehicle, and a *Material* Mouthful of Air: but a Man muſt be very *Romantick* indeed, to ſuppoſe good natural corporeal Men can ſubſiſt upon pure Spiritualties, without ſo much as a *Civil* pair of Breeches, a *Material* Diſh of Victuals, an *External* Pot of Ale, a *Secular* Shirt, and a *Temporal* Manſion: This is indeed, in Mr. *Dryden*'s Senſe, a very *Fairy State:* and you might as well turn 'um looſe to reſide upon School Diſtinctions, or keep houſe with the four Cardinal Vertues. Chap. I.

P. Thou may'ſt value thy ſelf for thy little Banter, *Tim:* but there's none ſo ridiculous as that Eccleſiaſtical Banter, which the Church puts upon the State, by complimenting it with Power, only to be their Tool and Hangman: juſt like the *Jews*, that cry'd *Hail Maſter!* to our *Saviour*, and then crucify'd him;

Chap. I. 'Tis true the State does enjoy its Power in spite of 'um, and therefore they address it, as *Trincalo* did *Stephano*, *You shall be Viceroy, provided I may be Viceroy over you:* Not but that they in their Hearts disown the independent Power, tho' they outwardly acknowledge it at present: for were they once uppermost, they'd soon tell us of the impossibility of having any other independent Power but their own, and would charge their former Notions on the hardness of our Hearts, and the iniquity of the Times.

T. Why at this rate, *Phil*, you'll make the Church as considerable a Potentate as any in Nature: She has certainly great Dealings, and a large Correspondence: You have settled an Intercourse between her and the *Druids*, the *Pope* and the *Devil* and most of the prime People of *Europe*: and now she's got inn with the *Jews* and *Pontius Pilate*, for which reason, no doubt he is honourably mention'd in the *Creed*; For my part, I have no good stomach to Scripture Parallels: for I know they have done more mischief than Gun-powder: time has been, when the Liturgy was thought synonimous to the *abomination of Desolations*, spoken of by *Daniel* the Prophet: and that Text in the Gospel — *But a remnant shall be saved* — has been judiciously apply'd to those remains of the *long Parliament*, which the People, zealous of good Works, had purify'd to themselves; Now if this Trade goes on, how do I know, but in a little time we shall have all the Bible staged out into Figures and Emblems, and of no better Authority than *Quarles* and *Arwaker*; For here are you of Opinion, that

that suing out *the Writ of Rebellion* is the same thing as crucifying our *Saviour*, or at least very like it: and suppose you had said, it had been like cutting off *Malchus*'s Ear, or the crowing of the Cock, or *Peter* in Prison, or the Man going down to *Jericho*, can I tell how to help it? You know Dr. *Bincks*'s Simile of a Crucifix, and *Justin* [a] *Martyr* says, 'Tis like the Nose on ones Face: And what can any body say to all this? Only if suing the Writ aforesaid out of the *Queen's Bench*, be really crucifying the *Lord Chief Justice:* Suing out a Decree from the *Chequer*, must needs fley the *Lord Chief Baron* alive: and I can't see how another Decree can be had out of *Chancery*, without grievously tormenting the *Lord Keeper:* and then there's no reason, why those three honest Gentlemen should sit there to be tormented, fley'd, and crucify'd: they had much better be at home with their Wives, or keep Market with Country Attorneys; This perhaps you may think a Plot of mine to get 'um out of the way, that the Church may take all, as you fancy she has an itching after it, tho' I cannot tell for what reason, if as you say the Magistrate be her Tool, and Instrument: for no one, that designs good to himself, or has any work in hand, would go and spoil his Instruments, or throw his Tools away: such a one must needs be look'd upon either as stark mad, or at least going to leave off his Trade; However if the Church should undertake such a Job, her best way will be first to burn all the Bibles in the World, or at least scratch out some of the most considerable Texts about *Ordinance*, *Power*, *Submission*,

[a] Vid. *His Apology.*

Chap. I. *Patience*, *Supremacy*, *&c*, and then all the Comments, Sermons, Glosses, Cases, Expositions, *&c*, written since the *Reformation*, must to the Fire: and besides that, there must be a Statute of *Convocation* to pluck out all the Eyes in the Kingdom, and break all the Spectacles, with an Act for *a general Oblivion*: But when the Business is accomplish'd, I would by no means advise 'um, as you do, to say any thing of the Iniquity of the Times, because I am afraid, this would hardly mend 'um: nor yet one Syllable of the Hardness of Folks Hearts, because their own Hearts and Heads too, would by that time, outdo the *Colossus* of *Rhodes*, or the Nodle of Fryar *Bacon*;——'Tis true, as to this latter Project, you are a little doubtful: for sometimes you charge the Church with advancing the State, and making it absolute and tyrannical: which can never be to make a tool of it, for what is so, cannot be absolute; and sometimes agen you charge her with denying the Independence of the State, and a design to subvert it; Now I don't know how you'll reconcile these Matters: all that I can say is, that when you agree in your charge we'll try as well as we can to agree upon an Answer; As for what you offer about bantering the State with Power only to serve a Turn, I take it as spoken by way of Prevention, and to cry whore first: for if it be not your own Case, I'll never pretend to a Crucifix more; because as soon as ever you come to your first *Chapter*, and find there, that the Church did enjoy some Rights and Privileges, which you'd fain have the State take from her; but suspecting it would not be able to master her, wa

what Forces you had bestow'd on it in the *Introduction:* therefore that it might be able to vanquish this mighty *Goliah*, you take your little *David*, just come from the Flocks and the Herds, and the Bleatings of the People: and put him on the doublet of *Saul:* set him out in all the Independency you could possibly provide: that he might be sure to down with the *Philistine:* but when that's over, then at the *third Chapter* he must strip again of his Independency, and be sent to St. *Peter* to be call'd the *Tool* and *Creature of the People*; Now I would not have you glory, as if you had been first in this Invention, or were really the Author of this Farce: for *Cicero* says, 'twas *Verres*'s way, and for which he bestows many an honourable Title on him, and [a] *Sanderson*, I remember, calls him *cunning Colt* for't: so that 'tis much older than *Trincalo* and *Stephano:* and if you are thus jadish and unlucky whilst you are a *Colt*, who, d'ye think, will come near you when you come to be a *Horse?* In the mean time, we'll give notice to all *Mayors*, *Sheriffs*, *Constables*, and *Tything-men*, that from henceforth they should look to themselves: for there is a design on Foot to make 'um all Tools, Instruments, Utensils, Hawks, Hatchets, Hand-saws, Cats feet and Stalking-horses; For suppose I make a civil Visit to a *Justice of the Peace:* He may fancy perhaps, that I come to compliment his Supremacy, or to be sweet upon his independent Jurisdiction: and yet 'tis forty to one before we part, if I don't so cunningly fetch things about, as to treat of Judgment and Execution, and

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[a] *See his Sermons ad Magistratum.*

Chap. I. and so by degrees very smoothly draw him inn to grant me a Warrant.

P. There's another Bone for thee: That of Coercive Power, which the Clergy sometimes pretend to: tho' Coercive Power must be deriv'd from the Legislators, and consequently is precarious.

T. Ay, but that same Legislator, from whom the Clergy pretend to have some of their Coercive Power, is so very considerable: that 'tis somewhat more honourable to depend on him, then to wait at the *Lobby*, or make an interest in the *Bed-Chamber*.

P. Besides, *Tim*, all Coercion must suppose Breach of Law: but what Breach of Law is there, in not submitting to the Clergy's Decrees, when their very pretences to Legislation are High-Treason?

T. By what Statute? That of *Edw.* III, or the 7th and 8th of K. *William?* To be sure you can tell, because you put the Case so shrewdly: for here I go and suppose by way of Mitigation, whether if the Clergy have no Legislative Power, yet may they not have a little Coercive Power? *No*, say you: and that because their pretending to Legislation, is High Treason: that is, they can't Excommunicate, because their pretending to the Invocacation of Saints, is Witchcraft: or in other Words they can't, because they can't: that is, *Two-pence and Three-pence is Five-pence, and Five-pence and Five-pence is Two-groats and Two-pence, and Two-groats and Two-pence is Ten-pence:* and yet all this I know was in kindness to me, for you could as well have call'd it Necromancy, Idolatry, and Hell-craft,

craft, and then besides could have prov'd it as doughtily to the full. Chap. I.

P. This I'm sure of, that the Clergy's Coercive Power interferes with the Legislative: for does not Ordination oblige the Person ordain'd to an Office, and exclude all others? And does not Deprivation forbid the Person to exercise it? And does not Excommunication oblige and command the Society to shun and avoid such and such, whom they please.

T. And may not I make Sheriffs, Justices, Bayliffs and Hangmen, tho' they are by no means reckon'd among *Parliament-men*, to be as much Legislators, as the best, by the very same Argument? For is not raising the *Posse*, an Obligation and Command upon them to rise? And is not ejecting a Tenant, and putting another into Possession, an Obligation on the one, to take, and on the other, to leave? And by the same cunning Device, is not carrying a Man to Goal, or tying him to *Tyburn*, a Legislative Obligation on that Person, to shun the Society? So that whereas you say, the Clergy are forc'd to fly to the Declarative Power, to evade this Argument: I do assure you, 'twas not done with that design: for I do from my Heart believe, they never heard of that Argument before, and I dare swear never will again, unless from those, who have evaded all Modesty and Sense.

P. Prithee be easie, *Tim*, and don't let it appear thou art bit: And now thou mention'st the Declarative Power: What dost think of it? Does not the Power of declaring, that ill Men are to be shun'd, belong to the Laity as well as Clergy.

T. Why

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T. Why really, as you ſay, I don't know but it may: tho' I fancy, if a *Judg* at the *Aſſize*, ſhould declare againſt Sheep-ſtealing, notwithſtanding I do verily believe any of the By-ſtanders may declare juſt the ſame, without being either *Cryer* of the Court, or *Clerk of the Arraigns:* yet for all that, one of theſe Declarations ſhall only paſs by way of Advice, and the other ſhall be by Authority: and this very Authority of theirs, think you what you will, ſhall be made a pretence for holding Courts and inflicting Puniſhments: and therefore I believe you were too haſty in concluding, that if the Clergy have no Legiſlature, they can only adviſe: for you ſee, there may be a Back-door to creep out at: and indeed I can't but wiſh again, that you your ſelf had taken a little Advice, before you had made that raſh and haſty Concluſion.

P. Why ſo?

T. Becauſe, I take it to be the moſt Abſolute, Popiſh, High Church, Tyrannical Concluſion, I have lately met with: for thus it runs: There are, ſay you, the Powers of Legiſlation, of Execution, and of Advice: now I have conſulted *Wingate* and counted on my Fingers, and I find theſe Powers do amount to the Sum of *Three*, and conſequently there muſt be a Firſt, a laſt, and one in the Middle: but then in the very next Line, ſay you, the Clergy having not the Power of Legiſlature, can only Adviſe: And why? Becauſe there is no *medium* between Legiſlation and Advice: What then is become of Execution? Is that baniſh'd the Society of Powers? Or is it Excommunicate? And by what Tory, Tyrannic

rannical, Popiſh Authority? What was its Crime? And wherefore not allow'd to anſwer for it ſelf? Ah *Sir!* Talk not of Uſurpation and Injuſtice: for I find you can Excommunicate for trifles, as well as the Clergy. Chap. I.

P. Nay, *Tim*, if thou'rt offended at that Concluſion: there's another that will trouble thee much worſe, 'tis that which ends the *Chapter*, and it ſays that for want of Legiſlature, the Clergy can have no Temporal external Coercive Power.

T. And that Concluſion might as well have been ſet to *Tyrrel's Hiſtory*, or the *Pilgrim's Progreſs:* and you might as well have ſaid, the Clergy can have no Power for want of a ſtanding Army.

P. Why ſo? Are there Pretences to one, upon the ſame Foot with their Pretences to t'other?

T. Their Pretences to Power, are ſomewhat better than your Pretences to Senſe; For here the Caſe between us lies thus: the Clergy meet in *Convocation*, they Ordain, Excommunicate, have a ſet of Laws, and *Canons*, and an eſtabliſh'd *Revenue:* and all this is Matter of Fact: Now this you are reſolv'd to diſpute and argue out of the World: and then I expected, that either you would have prov'd the *Canons* ſpurious, and have quoted ſome Statute, whereby the *Convocation* might have been adjudg'd a *Conventicle* or Riotous Aſſembly: Or elſe that you would have ſtood forth and call'd upon People to obſerve the quickneſs of your Fingers, and the great Atchievements of *Hocus Pocus*, and thereupon have taken the *Glebe* into one Hand, and the *Parſonage-houſe*

Chap. I.

nage-house into t'other, and so have tumbl'd and toss'd 'um about, till either they were lost in a *Heterodox* shower of Rose-leaves, or a *Schismatical* flight of Lay-Sparrows: Or at least, that you would have wav'd the *Wand*, mark'd out the *Circle*, and then invoking *Hobbes* and *Marvell*, and other evil Spirits, have broke up the Inchantment, dissolv'd the Charm, and made the Church vanish like a Scene in the *Hay-Market*: but instead of all this, you only summon a parcel of Axioms from *Physicks*, *Astronomy*, and *Arithmetick*, to prove a few Inconveniencies against Church Power, if ever it should come to be as bad as 'tis possible to be: Now if this be allow'd, I'll go to *Euclid*, and there find Arguments enough to defeat the *Queen* of her *Excise*: I'll put an end to the *War*, by a System out of *Ptolomy*'s *Harmony*: and dissolve the *House of Commons*, and overturn the *Constitution*, by the fundamental Laws of *Palmestry*.

P. And dost thou think, *Tim*, that I will regulate my Proceedings by the Advice of such a Callow Coxcomb as thou art?

T. And yet such is my good Nature, that I can't help advising you for my Life: for if I had been in your Condition and Circumstances, insomuch that I could not sleep for Visions of *Popery* and *High-church*: or that little else came from me, but Satyrs against *Sion*, and Lampoons upon the *Whore of Babylon*: I would have pack'd up my Notions, and sent 'um away in a Letter to the *Observator*: or got *De Foe* to put 'um into Political Heroicks, for then, they might have been either *News* or *Rhime*, and perhaps have diverted somebod

but for you to raise a pack of Jealousies from what People may do, and to conjure up a few paultry Inconveniencies from the Rights and Prerogatives of the *Potential Mood*, when there's no shifting without it: and to call all this Reason, and Controversie: to challenge Answers and defie Adversaries: and to launch out into *Paragraphs, Chapters, and Prefaces:* must needs look very suspicious, that you have a design to disturb honest People in their Beds, or hinder 'um from exercising their lawful Callings and Employments. Chap. I.

P. How so, *Tim?*

T. Why *Sir*, if we must be always supposing the worst, and fancying all the *Mays* and *Cans* in the World are coming down ding dong upon us: how is it possible we can be easie? If every Sword in *London may* stab us: every Tyle on the House, knock us at Head: if every Dog at a Door *may* bite us: every Porter we meet drub us: every Bar-gown undo us: and every long Wig Cuckold us: we must e'en get *Gyges*'s Ring for our selves, and *Hans Carvel*'s for our Wives, and unless we are very sure that *Should and Ought* are of the very same Mood and Tense, with *Might, Would, Could, May* or *Can:* we have nothing to do, but away to *Salisbury-plain*, and there subsist as you would have the Clergy, upon *pure Spiritualties:* if we are first well satisfy'd, that none of the Stars and Spheres will fall on us, nor any *Mushroom-men* rise up between our Legs, and defie us to mortal Combat.

P. This is another old *Popish* trick, to lull Men into Security, and make us depend upon other People's Honour.

T. And

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T. And so you must, whether you will or no: you must depend upon the Honour of your Neighbour's *Mastiff*, that he will not bite you by the Shins: and you must depend upon the Fidelity of your *Ragman*, that he will not fire your House: and upon the Generosity of your *Cook-maid*, that she will not poison you; but so it is, if a Man talks any thing of Justice and good Fellowship, let it be never so good Sense, yet if it happens to be as old as *Harry the Eighth*, presently 'tis Popish: and that because by *Popery* is to be understood, a certain *Bedlam* Age, when all Mankind agreed to run mad together, and not to be in the Right in any one thing whatever: and yet notwithstanding this, I can't find that if a Member stands up and Harangues thus——Mr. *Speaker, it was an Observation of* Cardinal Richlieu's—— Or thus——*It was a notable piece of Wisdom in* Scipio Africanus——he is thereupon sent to the *Tower*, or indicted for a design to bring inn *Popery?*

P. I value not thy *Popish* Sense, *Tim:* I'm sure I speak the Sense of a great many, and I am also as sure, that the advancing Church Power tends only to breed Factions and Disturbances, and to make the Nation uneasie.

T. Why there agen! That's another of your *Whims:* and indeed it is the grand *Arcanum* of the noble Company of *Scribblers*, and Society of *Pamphleteers:* If the Government be contriving any thing against their Humour, presently it is to be suggested, that it won't please: They and their Friends shan't like it; If the *Parliament* makes any good Resolutions, which in the least may hinder their Interest: In

an

in instant, whip, comes out one of these Two-penny Rascals, and gives notice, that, all's wrong! People are dissatisfy'd: and some of 'um are resolv'd to be disturb'd, and perhaps in time to be factious, if the State does not take care to humour 'um, and keep 'um quiet; So that in a little time, we shall be brought to that Lay, that the *Commons* shan't vote any thing without a long Memorial containing the Reasons of every Resolution, because perhaps there's *forty Thousand* Cornishmen, *would know the Reason, why:* Neither shall a *Bill* pass, till the *Secretaries* first acquaint the House, that it gives entire Satisfaction in *Kent* and *Wales*, and that the Army under *Knightsbridge* does heartily approve of their Proceedings.

P. 'Tis enough, they can never rest satisfy'd under an independent Power in the Church.

T. Nor in the State neither, nor in any thing else that's independent in the Sense you mean, that is with all its *Mays* and *Cans* about it: for at this rate, I'll undertake to make the vileſt Things in Nature to be as formidable as Antichrist.

P. How will that be done?

T. Why thus——I'll stick up a *Candle*, and this, say I, *may or can* set fire to a House, and that House *shall and will* set fire to a City, and in that City *might or could be* the Parliament-House, and in that House the three Estates, and they shan't escape a Soul of 'um; Then I'll suppose a *Hob-nail* in a Smith's Shop, and this Hob-nail, say I, *may* be driven into a Shoe, and prick the Horse's Foot, and that *may* unhorse the Rider, and that Rider *may* be a General,

neral, and that General *may* break his Neck in the fall, and that fall *may* occasion the loss of a Battel, and the loss of that Battel *may* occasion the loss of the Kingdom, and the loss of that Kingdom *may* enslave the whole World: to prevent which, we'll Issue out a Decree against *independent Hobnails and farthing Candles.*

P. Thou needst not pump for Instances, *Tim*, to convince me of the Inconveniences of independent Power.

T. Nay, 'tis certain, there are inconveniences attending it, and among the rest the inconvenience of *Tautology* and *Nonsence:* for here have you scribl'd out at least two Penny worth of Paper, against the independent Power of the Church, whereas you say at *pag.* 48. that *the thing might be all done in a word,*

P. How so, *Tim?*

T. Why not? Could not you have gone and laid it down for a first Principle, *That give an Inch to the Clergy, and they'll take an Ell:* and then conclude it the safest way, to strip 'um of all: or else show the Inconveniences of the independent Power of the Church, by first settling and establishing, that by independent Power, you meant *a Power and Right to all things whatever:* So that if the Church must have all, it should irrefragably follow, that there should be nothing left for any Body else; this with a good *Title*, *Preface* and *Dedication*, allowing withal a handsome conscionable room for *Finis* to strut and swagger in, would have amounted to the full growth and proportion of many a modern Pamphlet, and thereby

thereby a world of inconveniencies might have been saved. Chap. I.

P. Prithee what are they, *Tim?*

T. Why, *Sir*, do you think, that any Body would ever have made head against such mighty demonstrations as these? What Son of *Syllogism*, Heir of *Algebra*, and Lover of *Logarithms*, would have ventur'd to advance his *Goose-quill* against such close and all confounding Conclusions? you might have tack'd 'um to *Euclid* or *Newton*, and have challeng'd the World to confute 'um; but for you to go and fancy, that all this signify'd any thing to the *Convocation*, or might in the least prejudice the *Arches*: or to make it instrumental in the Suppression of *High-Church*, or to suppose it would assist you in the overthrow of *Babylon*: was very troublesome and inconvenient, and besides that, you had much better have ask'd Aid of the *Sophy*, or call'd inn the *Turk* to your Assistance.

P. Still, *Tim*, thou art at a loss, to show me how this comes to be so very troublesome and inconvenient.

T. Why thus, *Sir*, here have you upon these Dapper Principles, written a *Book* of a good *Catholick* size: and it sells tolerably: Not that I would have you think, that all those Folks you see gaping upon *Tom Fool*, do really like him: and thereupon you and your Followers, as I don't know but you may have some, for 'tis a sad Age, will immediately cry out, that unless you are answer'd, the Clergy are mute, they have nothing to say for themselves, they are all silenc'd and confuted: Now I do seri-

ously tell you, the Clergy have no reason to answer all the stuff of this Nature that comes out, any more than the *College of Physicians* are oblig'd to confute the daily Miracles of *Grubstreet*, or the *Societies for Reformation* to answer every *Ballad* that comes forth upon two Trussels; the Reasons of the Church are old and well known, those against it may be new and surprizing, and will sell better: Besides, I think 'tis pretty plain your greatest spite was at the *Country Clergy:* for those in Town are *dependent* enough in Conscience; Now do you think, that every Parson, who lives within a Mile of a Carrier, has the same Printing opportunities with one, who perhaps may be in the Pay of the *Stationers Company*, or it may be holds a Garret in *Little Britain?* Who knows, but that you are Secretary to the *Scandal Club*, or long to be in Print? You may, for all that I can tell, be as idle as an *Irish-man*, or as much at leisure as a *Courtier* after *Resignation:* Whereas 'tis very seldom that the Clergy want work, so long as there are *Sinners and Schismaticks* abroad: And yet here are you so unconscionable, as to summon 'um up to Town, poor Men, to answer your Book, at the very same time perhaps, when they should look to the Children, whilst the good Woman goes to Groaning: or be more importantly employ'd with the Hammer and Saw in the Backside, providing against *dilapidations*, or with their *Patron* at *Back-gammon*.

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P. Well, *Tim*, if thou hast no more respect for my first *Chapter*, I'm sure thou't have very little for the *second:* in which I think I have sufficiently:

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sufficiently confuted all manner of Pretences to Internal Power.

T. Well, of all things recommend me to Method: for having done with the Monsters *double Head*, we are now come to the [a] *Guts and Garbage* of the Church: and indeed this was no more than what might justly be expected at your Hands, for when you had taken care of the outside, and provided for the Subject, that he should sleep in a whole Skin, secure from all spiritual Scratchings and Clawings: then 'twas time to make as good a provision for the Conscience, and so to Swathe and Swadle it, that not so much as a Pin should hurt it, nor the least noise of Ecclesiastical Drums and Trumpets should awake the dear Babe of Grace from that sweet Lethargy into which you had lull'd it.

[a] *See the Spanish Fryar.*

P. Prithee, *Tim*, leave fooleries, and hearken and attend to sound Sense: I say the Clergy's pretending to an internal Power in Contradiction to the Magistrates, is a meer blind of words: for the Church is a visible Society, and the Acts of its Governors ought to be visible too; Thus Excommunication is as external as Outlawry, and so ought all Punishments to be, otherwise they lose their force; but if by Internal you mean that it obliges and binds the Conscience, this is as much as to say the Magistrates Power does not so, and therefore he is to be obey'd for fear only.

T. And what would you have us mean by internal, the *Liver*, the *Lights*, the *Midriff*, or the *Tom-gut?* However, to please you, we'll state the Case fairly between Internal and External, and then see how you stand affected;

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The Magistrate's Power, say we, obliges the inward Man: that is, he is to be obey'd for Conscience sake: But if the inward Man will not obey him, then comes the external Sheriff and the visible Tything-man, and they seize upon the outward Man and make him obey for Wrath's sake, that is, whether he will or no: Now let us but suppose some harden'd Inhabitant of *Flintshire* or *Stony-Stratford*, so very much a *Stoick*, as to deny all Pain, or what is reported of the [1] *Iroquians*, to be able to rejoice and sing under the greatest Tortures: such a one need not boggle at Perjury, or be much concern'd at Petty Larceny; And the same in some measure is the Case with the Church; for her Power too obliges the Conscience, and is internal as well as the States, nay, it ought to be external too, for external Crimes ought to be follow'd by external Repentance and Satisfaction: but forasmuch as the Church has no Divine Right to any external Stocks or Whipping-post, therefore 'tis left to the Criminal's Conscience, whether he will be so punish'd or not: and whatever force the Church has to punish such a one, it borrows entirely of the State: for as to any Power which the Church has by Divine Right, a Man need only get a *Stoical* Soul and *Iroquian* Conscience, that is, he need only turn Heathen, and the Church has no more to say to him; now this being the Case: whereas you say Punishment ought to be external, we say so too, but where it cannot be had, 'tis enough if we can teize and fret a Man heartily: and when you suppose that the Church's int[illegible] Power is set to contradict the Magistrate

[1] Hennepin, a Book much the best of its kind, that has been written for many Ages.

ternal, or that internal and external are by any means a Contradiction: We say, that *Crakanthorp* and *Burgersdicius* and the rest of our Masters will by no means allow of it; 'Tis own'd, the Churches Power is internal: so is the States; *A rare Contradiction* that! But then the Churches Power, as Divine, is only internal, the States reaches farther and is external too: *A strange Reflection this upon the State!* if at the same time it be not a much worse upon your Understanding. Chap. III.

P. But this obliging the Conscience, is it not an Usurpation upon God, who has reserv'd to himself the sole Dominion of Conscience, and to whom alone 'tis accountable? In this he makes no one his Deputy and Vicegerent.

T. Nay, if to oblige the Conscience usurps upon God, then what you charg'd just now upon the Church, becomes all your own, and there's an end of the States internal Power, because that obliges the Conscience, tho' perhaps it may not oblige yours: for you are certainly the greatest *Tyrant* and *Tory* this Day breathing, as great as the great one of all at *Versailes:* for here are you making Conscience as bad as *Nero*, and as arbitrary as my *Lord Jefferies*, and for the same reason too, because 'tis only accountable to God; Now I do positively tell you, that unless Conscience be so good natur'd as to give some small account of it self to Men too, as well as God: I'd no more come near it, than I'd undertake to nose a Bear, or pull the Ghost of *Paul Dyack* by the Whiskers; as for those things, which the Conscience is pleas'd to keep to it self, Omniscience

Chap. II. niſcience muſt look to 'um: for no Body pretends to judge, where they can have no knowledge of the Cauſe, or to ſend *Aparitors* down Mens Throats, with a *Summons* and a *Dark Lanthorn*, to ſee how the Conſcience has digeſted the *Canons*, and to take account of all internal Diſorders: for the Conſcience is inclos'd in ſufficient Limbs and Members, and 'tis well for us 'tis ſo inclos'd: Now ſo long as Conſcience keeps within Doors, the Magiſtrate won't trouble her: but when once ſhe breaks looſe, he'll be ſure to catch her, if but at the tip of the Tongue and the Fingers ends.

P. But the Prieſt's Power runs much higher than this: he pretends to damn and to ſave, to deliver over to *Satan*, and to inflict an eternal Puniſhment: whereas 'tis plain that depends wholly upon God, and cannot be the Conſequence of the Church's *Anathema*, but of a Man's own Actions.

T. Of all things, *Phil*, I would not have you ſet too high a Price upon Damnation: I'll aſſure you, it may be had very cheaply: there goes indeed a great deal to a perfect Conſummate Hero in Villany, and there are Adventurers in this Age, that coſt the Devil a world of Pomps and Vanities for their Equipage: but ordinary Sinners may go to Hell upon more reaſonable Terms; and whereas you ſay the Prieſt may damn, I queſtion not but the very ſame Power belongs to a petty Conſtable: for his Authority being legal as well as the Prieſt's, the Man that diſobeys it, muſt not think to come off ſo: not but that Damnation, as you ſay, is the conſequence of a Man's own Actions, and not of the Prieſts Sentence: A c

ous hint against his Authority, for in the very [illegible] same matter, the Gallows is not the natural Consequence of the Judges Sentence, unless there be first an Antecedent Murder or Robbery.

P. Does not the Power of Damnation belong solely to God?

T. True: and since you are pleas'd graciously to allow him that Power, therefore, say we, he may inflict it upon what Conditions he pleases, and appoint such Deputies and Vicegerents for denouncing that Judgment, as he shall think fit.

P. I do not deny, *Tim*, but that he who neglects the good Advice of a Clergy-man, commits a Sin, and consequently deserves punishment for't.

T. And so you'd have all the Clergy leave off giving Advice, for fear People should neglect it and be damn'd?

P. Not so neither.

T. What then? If you say People may suffer for neglecting the Priest's Advice, and yet that we shall never be the worse hereafter for any Actions of the Priest: To solve this, you must either prove that Reproving is no Action, or else that we shall never be the worse for Damnation.

P. All I would have, *Tim*, is, that the Clergy should pretend to no more Power than other People, that is, only a Declarative Power, which is common to other Christians.

T. But then we have already seen [illegible] there is a great difference in Declaration [illegible] who catches a Lad upon a Pear-Tree [illegible] ling Geese, may venture upon [illegible]

Chap. II. to declare to ſuch a one, the Wrath and Vengeance of his Father: tho' ſuch a Declaration as this from a Stranger, may not perhaps be much taken notice of; But if one of the Family, one of the old Gentleman's own Servants ſhould be ſent with full Authority to forbid him his Father's Preſence, and to threaten to diſinherit him: ſuch a Declaration as this muſt needs be of much more force, and a Lad muſt be very ungracious indeed, that would value it no more than *a ſounding Braſs, or a tinckling Cymbal.*

P. What then you imagine there's a Judicial Power belonging to the Clergy? That God is their Executioner, and muſt enforce their Judgment?

T. Not ſo: for the Sentence is God's, both in the Pronunciation and Execution: tho' one is by Proxy, and 'tother ſhall be in Perſon; and after the ſame manner, tho' 'tis the Judge that condemns, yet the Sentence, as well as the Execution, is the Queens: which however ſtrange it may ſeem to you, yet both the Caſe and the Reaſons on't, are as well known at the *Old-Bayley*, as my *Lord-Mayor*.

P. Prithee, *Tim*, anſwer me, may not an Eccleſiaſtical Judgment be unjuſt, and as they ſay, *Clave Errante?*

T. Who doubts it?

P. How ſenſeleſs now is that! Cannot a Man ſtand by a Priſoner and gueſs his Doom with as good Authority, ſaying, That he did it either *Clave Errante*, or *non Errante?*

T. Now on my Conſcience and Soul, *Phil*, all your *Dilemma*'s naturally end in this one, either to be pity'd or laugh'd at: for here

now

now becauſe you can't get the Church to ſay ſhe's *Infallible*, therefore ſhe ſhall have no Power at all: and with the ſame Argument, I'll engage you may baffle the *twelve Redcoats* at *Weſtminſter*: for when they paſs Sentence, I do aſſure you without ſeeing a Council or quoting *Fleta* and *Bracton*, you may very confidently tell 'um, that they may be miſtaken in their Judgment, and pronounce *Clave Errante*: and yet notwithſtanding this ſhrew'd Objection, 'tis poſſible you may be over-rul'd, and find to your coſt, that the Judge ſhall exert his Power a little more vigorouſly than e'er a By-ſtanding *Attorney* or *Solicitor*. Chap. II.

P. Why certainly, *Tim*, thou can'ſt never ſuppoſe that Power to ſignifie much, which by thy own acknowledgment, may be revers'd, and is often to no purpoſe?

T. Why not? Does a *Chancellor*'s Court, think you, ſignify nothing, becauſe there lies an Appeal thence to the *Arches*? Or does that Clauſe in the Prayer before *Aſſize Sermons*—*Remembring the great Account*, &c. ſuperſede the Judges Commiſſion? Have a care, *Phil*, of appealing: for if you happen to be caſt there too, you'll find great Alterations in the *Bill of Charges*.

P. Prithee, *Tim*, do but look upon ſome of the old Forms of Excommunication: thou'llt ſee there little reaſon to like this arbitrary Power over Souls.

T. I have heard witty People ſay, *Phil*, that the Church Form of Matrimony——*Till Death us do part*, &c. exceeds all the Compliments in either *the Old* or *New Academy*: and at the ſame rate I think the Church Form

of

Chap. II. of Excommunication——*Whatsoever ye bind, &c*, surpasses any thing in *Ino*, *Buchardus* or *Selden*: and those Words, we conceive, have a Meaning to 'um as well as their Neighbours: and yet such is our misfortune, notwithstanding what Mr. *Johnson* has observ'd on that terrible *Text* about *Bears pag.* 73, that tho' we should utter such astonishing Truths after so good Authority, yet there are those that will not believe 'um.

P. It must be much more astonishing, *Tim*, to think that the Priest can convey Men over to eternal Darkness, and deliver 'um into the Power of the Devil and his Angels.

T. Look ye, *Phil*, you may if you please, make Excommunication as terrible as Brimstone, and dress up your Parson in a cloven Foot and forked Tayl: but when all's done, the sending Folks to Hell is so very vulgar and common, that the *Hangman* pretends as much Right that way as the *Ordinary*: for when the State executes for Murder or Treason, if the Criminal repents not, he goes as surely to the Devil as when Excommunicate for Adultery or Fornication; nay the Power of delivering to *Satan*, belongs in some measure to every Christian: for as the Church Excommunicates for Injuries done to her Authority, which, say we, unless recompence be made, shall certainly bring a Man to the Devil: in the same manner when a single Person is wrong'd, he may justly avoid his Adversary, and Excommunicate him his Conversation, and refuse Reconciliation, till Pardon ask'd and Justice done him: and yet a delay in the Injurer to be recon- to his Brother, shall make his Prayers.

Oh

Offerings abominable, and give the Devil a good Title to him. Chap. II.

P. Thou ha'ſt ſtore of Shifts and Subterfuges, *Tim*, and I am reſolv'd to try 'um; What think'ſt thou of Abſolution? Can the Prieſt forgive Sins? or may not a private Perſon pronounce a penitent Brother abſolv'd, as well as he?

T. By no means, *Phil*: for Abſolution is the Peace of the Church, as a Pardon is the Peace of the State: and 'tis not reaſonable any private Perſon ſhould pronounce the one, any more than he can paſs the other; 'Tis true indeed, every Man may Abſolve for thoſe Treſpaſſes, which concern himſelf only: he may forgive a Debt, or reſign a Bond *gratis*: but as no private Man can forgive Murder, ſo neither can he Abſolve for Adultery: nay the Church and the State themſelves can only Abſolve ſo much, as concerns their own proper Society, and ſo far as they are injured by it: As for what concerns the Court above, that muſt be forgiven by Deputation from thence: and when every private Perſon can ſhew as good a Title to that, as his Parſon: let him e'en turn *Baptiſt* and *Evangeliſt*; For whereas you ſay, That 'tis an aſtoniſhing Truth, that God will pardon a Penitent, and any Man may ſafely ſay it: I can tell you, there is alſo another aſtoniſhing Truth in the Bible beſides that, *Whoſe Sins ye remit, &c*: But if any one whatſoever ſhould thereupon undertake to Abſolve in Form, I believe the Practice would be ſo aſtoniſhing, that 'twould of it ſelf ſtand in need of more *Abſolutions*, than the *Pope* beſtows at a *Jubilee*; For obſerve, *Phil*, tho' you

Chap. II. you may have a Bible by you, and now and then perhaps may read it and pronounce it audibly to your Family: yet it shall not therefore follow that every thing you repeat at second hand shall be as good as it was at the first; for at this rate I'll teach a Lad a short Lesson or two, — *Epapha* — or, *Be thou clean* — That shall at once make him both *Doctor* and *Potecary* without either *Licence* or *Indentures*.

P. But can there be any thing more astonishing, than that the Clergy should forbid the People the Power of Ordination, and that because they cannot give the Holy Ghost? Do they pretend to give the Person of the Holy Ghost, or his Gifts ordinary or extraordinary? If so, then no Clergy-man would be without them.

T. Why this now in your Opinion may be very good Reason: but then try it upon other Matters, and see how it prospers: the People, say we, cannot make a Justice of the Peace or a Constable, because he is the Queen's Representative: Now does the Justices Commission pretend to dispose of the Person of the Queen, or of her ordinary Gifts, Justice, Mercy and Moderation, or her extraordinary Gifts, Wisdom, Vertue and Piety? If so, then none of the Bench would be without 'um; some Folks may fancy this to be a good Plea at a Quarter Sessions, and yet I dare swear, there's scarce a Constable in the Hundred, would condescend to produce any other Argument, but his Club, for Conviction.

P. What then perhaps by giving the Holy Ghost, you mean giving a Right to an Ecclesiastical Office? If so, then to say the People cannot

cannot give ſuch a Right, becauſe they cannot give the Holy Ghoſt, is to ſay they cannot, becauſe they cannot.

T. What then perhaps by giving the Broad-Seal, is meant giving a Right to a Civil Office? If ſo, then to ſay the People cannot give ſuch a Right, becauſe they cannot give the Broad-Seal, is to ſay, they cannot becauſe they cannot: and yet I dare believe there have been thoſe that have made uſe of that Argument without forfeiting their Places.

P. I have heard great Men ſay, that no more is meant by ſuch a Form, than only a ſolemn Wiſh or Prayer; if ſo, there's no reaſon why the Clergy ſhould confine the making of a Prieſt or Biſhop wholly to themſelves.

T. Suppoſe it were a ſolemn Prayer: I do aſſure you, ſolemn Prayers are not at the diſpoſal of every private Pariſhioner; 'Tis true indeed, as you ſay, the People may take the *Sexton* if they pleaſe, and ſet him in the *Biſhop*'s Chair, and lay their Hands on him, and pray for him very heartily (as I don't know but there may be a great need of it) and they may ſay, *Receive thou*, &c. and then they may clap him on the Back, and bid him ſhift: and in the ſame manner they may take one of the Mob, and give him a *Staff* out of the next Crab-Tree, and dub him *Conſtable*, and agree to be knock'd down by him whenever they do amiſs: But when all's done, ſuch a Staff as this ſhall ſignifie no more to the true Primitive Orthodox Pariſh-Club, than the City-Mace to a Chocolate-Mill.

P. What

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P. What do'ſt thou think, *Tim*, of that Spirit, which the Popiſh Prieſts receive at their Ordination?

T. Why, *Sir*, you are pleas'd to call that Spirit, *Phœbus:* now *Goodwin* really tells me, that *Phœbus* ſtands for Wiſdom: and therefore I fancy you ſeriouſly meant, *Mephoſtophiles:* for then you might have juſtly charg'd him, with being void of common Senſe; and your Teſtimony of the Nature of the Spirit would have been the more credible, for any one who ſees the force of your Arguments, would have ſworn he had been of your Acquaintance.

P. Wilt thou undertake to juſtifie the Partiality, Malice, Pride, Revenge and Uncharitableneſs, of any one in Holy Orders?

T. Nor will I undertake to juſtifie the Ambition, Perſecution, and Avarice of any in Commiſſion of the Exciſe: for I do think, 'tis poſſible for an Exciſe-man to be unlucky, as well as a Parſon; and yet 'twould be but a poor Plea againſt the Malt-Tax, to ſay the Collector keeps a Whore: neither will it reſcue a Man from a Conſtable, to alledg, that he was drunk laſt *Saturday*.

P. What I ſaid, *Tim*, was chiefly deſign'd againſt the Papiſts, who are pleas'd to make very bold with the *three Perſons* in the *Trinity:* they make———

T. What do they make?——They make ſomething of 'um, I hope: whereas at *p.* 36, you have made away with two of the Number: you have deny'd him, that *redeem'd* you: won't own him, that ſhould *ſanctifie* you: and 'tis well there's one left, that will certainly *puniſh* you.

P. I

P. I protest, *Tim*, I believe thou art pro- Chap. II.
nouncing *Anathema*'s against me: and I value 'um, as much as I do those of a Priest; I scorn their Holy Farces and Juggles: What less is that, which they act at the Election of a Bishop, when they implore the Holy Ghost to direct their choice, and yet resolve on the Person nam'd in the Writ; And then the *Nolo Episcopari*: a Custom they are now asham'd of: tho' indeed 'tis true of some Bishops, who are often as good as their word with regard to the Duty of the Place.

T. You are not the first *Tory*, that has trump'd this Argument upon us: and the design of it is to strip our Bishops, good Men, of their Peerage, their Jurisdiction and Revenues, and to leave 'um intirely Primitive and Apostolical: for if these Perquisites must be continu'd, 'tis reasonable the Queen should have some hand in electing the Bishop, since he cannot be made a Judg and a Baron without her: and since Bishop, Baron, and Judg must go together, I think 'tis as reasonable, that the Clergy should take the Queen's word, that no ill Bishop shall be impos'd upon the Church, as that the Queen should take the Clergy's word, that no ill Judge or Baron should be impos'd upon the State: the odds are two to one on the Crown side; so that you see, there is some reason for a *Conge d'Eliere*, besides your own Argument, that all Church Considerations must give place to the State; Oh! But, say you, where is the Clergy's Right of Election? and thereto we answer, That the Person propos'd is so far their Candidate, that he must be first chosen by them, before

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he is consecrated: nay he is subject to their Censures and Refusal, and they may thereupon, *rescribere Regi*: and if in judging and approving him they implore the Divine assistance, they do like honest well-meaning Christians: and if every honest Country Burgess would do so in electing his Mayor, tho' perhaps he's confin'd to two Candidates by the Aldermen, I believe some Towns would be a little better govern'd than they are; Now if you had gone on and said, that the reason why there are few Instances of the Chapter's remonstrating against the Writ, was because the Queen never proposes but such as the Church may thankfully receive, and such as they own'd for Pastors before: this had been something: but to go and say that some of our Bishops are unworthy of their Places, when you could not name so much as one of 'um, was very idle and impertinent. As to *Nolo Episcopari*: it is we own, a mere Form: and so are Cassocks and Circingles: and it is, as you observe, lay'd aside, and so are Miters and Crosiers: but I think for any harm it did, it might have been continu'd still; when a Bishop has made interest for a See, and very earnestly desir'd it according to the Apostle's Rule, and for the same reason too, because 'tis really *a good Office*: he may doubtless at the same time modestly acknowledg his insufficiency, and unfitness for the Place; This in a *Judg* of the *Queen's-Bench*, or a *Speaker* of the *House of Commons*, tho' they both made violent interest for their Places, is Manners and Modesty: but in a Bishop, 'tis Canting and Hypocritical:

* *See the Lord Sommers's Plea in the Tryal of the Bishops.*

pocritical: such mighty difference is there between Secular and Ecclesiastical Civility! Chap. II.

P. There is another pretty fancy for thee to justifie, *Tim:* The Clergy, 'tis said, are God's Embassadors: 'tis true the Apostles were so, and were made so by God, who alone can make his own Embassadors: and they brought their Credentials with them; But what are these Men? What Mission have they? And what new Gospel are they to publish? They are at best but Commentators and Note-mongers: and by pretending to a Divine Commission, commit no less than High-Treason against God.

T. Soft and fair, *Phil:* no body pretends to say that any body but God can Commission his own Embassadors: if indeed any amongst us have said, the Clergy are *God's Embassadors*, one of their Reasons perhaps is, that their Betters have said it before 'um; Now tho' God do's Commission his own Embassadors, yet not all in Person, for *Matthias* was God's Embassador ('tis like you have heard of him) and yet he was commission'd at second hand: nay 'tis said of the whole Bunch of the Apostles, that they should *remain to the End of the World*, and that their Priesthood should be for ever; and yet I don't know how it is, but there are dreadful *Cuts* in the *Common-Prayer-Book* (you have seen that too belike) which seems to shew how they came by their Ends: so that if they are still alive, it must be, by way of Proxy; Oh! But, say you, we want Miracles: and indeed there's great need of 'um to convert some People, and it is, I confess, an unanswerable Argument: you must

Chap. II. e'en look out for a Gospel that can furnish you: for ours, I can assure you, are long since ceas'd: and indeed I know not where to recommend you, unless you'll go to *Loretto*, or the *Pope's Laboratory*: tho' if you fail there too, e'en lay the Fault upon your School-master who never taught you to read, or upon your old trusty Friend Nature, that you were not born seventeen hundred Years ago. 'Tis also very true, as you say, that our Gospel is old, and it may be with some Folks, out of fashion: yet tho' it be old, it may be useful still: for sinning did not cease with *Simon Magus*; besides as old as it may seem, there are some People on this side the *Ganges*, talk at such a rate, as if they had never heard on't: and therefore it may be News to them; And then for Note-mongers and Commentators: they are as necessary in a Parish as Midwives and Apothecaries: for I have heard some People, *Phil*, think themselves oblig'd from that Text, *Try all things* — to run a course of Religions, and take a Tast of all that lay near 'um, on purpose to see which suited their Constitution and was most for their Palate: And others of the softer Sex, from that in *Genesis* —— *And they sewed figleaves together, and made themselves* * *Breeches* —— have undertaken to prove, that the Woman had as good a Title to 'um as the Man; Now what would become of such People; if 'twere not for an honest Note-monger and Commentator? So that I would have you by all means, *Phil*, get better Evidence, before you offer to impeach the Clergy of High-Treason for want of a Commission: lest in the mean time they turn the Law

* *See the old Translation.*

Law upon you, and beg your Estate for want of your Senses. Chap. II.

P. And canst thou, without the like forfeit, offer to magnifie at this rate, some pitiful *Servitor*, who from running on College Errands, should be advanc'd to be a prime Minister in God's Kingdom: and be intituled to Spiritual Dominion? Which, if he has Faith enough to believe it, must needs make him vain, giddy, and insolent.

T. One would wonder indeed, the glorious Privileges of the Clergy being so transcendently inviting, how there should come to be room for such a Scoundrel in the Church: 'twere easier to think, that not a Vicarage should drop, but whip some *Nobleman* or other would make interest for it: and I can't imagine, why *Lords of Manners* are not all in Orders, since they have so many jolly Benefices in their disposal; And yet if among this magnificent Train, here and there a sneaking *Servitor* should croud himself in, 'twould be hard to discard him, because he has formerly serv'd up a carnal Commons; *Let Ingenuity thrive:* the House of Commons, you see, admits Mr. *B——er*, tho' he once carry'd a Link, and the Court of Aldermen has not yet discarded Sir *Char——* tho he heretofore wip'd Shoes; You are kind and civil to the Dissenters, and think their Preachers Orthodox: and yet I'll assure you, they do some of 'um now and then weave Blankets as well as spin Texts, and thrash Corn as often as Wainscoat; if a *Fisher-man* could never have been a Parson, the *Pope* is in a sad Condition: and I do believe our *Tent-maker* won't much mend the Matter; And yet

Chap. II. after all, some People say, for a Man to rise from running on College Errands, to run on Parish Errands, is not much for his advantage; Because I observe, the Butler that runs on the Patron's Errands, thinks himself a match for such a one in a Bowling-green: and the Nymph that trips the Lady's Errands, thinks her self a match for him even on his own Holy Ground; And therefore I would by no means have a Parson be tempted by you, to be vain, giddy, and insolent: for the Priest that is proud of his Orders, is like the Alderman that was proud of his Leathern Breeches, he is proud of that very thing which was design'd to make him humble: for the clapping hand over head, as you are pleas'd to call Ordination, was not design'd to turn the Brain, and you that fancy so, one would think should have pass'd the same Ceremony, and had

——— *Hand on Skull,*
With this prophetick Blessing, Be thou dull!

P. I'll put thee a Case, *Tim:* A Priest in the Fens, zealous for the Reformation of the Stage, thought he could not do better, than to give our Poets the Sample of a Religious Play: so he wrote the Tragedy of *Pontius Pilate*, and the *Dramatis Personæ* stood in this Order——

M E N.

Pontius Pilate,	Mr. *Powel.*
St. *Peter,*	Mr. *Verbruggen.*
Barabbas,	Mr. *Sanford.*
Malchus,	Mr. *Haines.*

WOMEN.

WOMEN.

The Virgin Mary,	Mrs. *Bracegirdle.*
Elizabeth,	Mrs. *Barry.*

Now prithee tell me, *Tim*, doſt thou really take Mr. *Verbruggen*, Mr. *Powel*, and the reſt, to be the true and undoubted Repreſentatives of *Pontius Pilate* and his Company, according as the Parſon has appointed 'um?

T. Why really, *Phil*, I ſhould do what I could to believe very ſtrange things of Mrs. *Ba*—— and Mrs. *Bra*———, provided I were well brib'd to't with a few of their beſt Favours: for I always conſult my Intereſt in ſuch Caſes: tho' I muſt tell you a great deal of Faith would be requiſite, to make one a Virgin, and t'other a Saint; But then if *Verbruggen* could really produce a Commiſſion from St. *Peter*, legally atteſted, thereby conſtituting and appointing him and his Succeſſors the Saint's Deputies and Repreſentatives, with a ſufficient Security of a thouſand a Year in Reverſion out of the ſaid St. *Peter*'s Patrimony, to all thoſe that accepted and obey'd him as ſuch: provided he did not undertake to forgive Sins, and to be always in the Right: I ſhould no more queſtion his Authority, than I can deny the *Mayor* of our Town to be the *Queen*'s Repreſentative, tho' he's neither half ſo Wiſe, nor a quarter ſo Good.

P. If thou would'ſt behave thy ſelf a little modeſtly, *Tim*, I would ſhew thee a more rational way of making and depriving Miniſters: For what is requir'd to ordain a Clergy-man

Chap. II. more than the People's consenting to hear him, and to receive the Sacraments at his hands? And what to Deprivation, but their agreeing not to hear him any longer? Since 'tis only a Liberty of their own Actions, to hear, or not to hear.

T. Why if it be so, as you say, *Phil*, a world of Expences might be saved: for at this rate, the Master of a Family has nothing to do on a Sunday, but to ordain his *head Carter* and consent to hear him read three or four Chapters in *Matthew*, where he will be sure to have pure Text without Notes and Comments; And he may appoint his Son *Tom*, especially if he rose last in the Family, to cut Bread, and he may take it sacramentally, provided he has Faith enough, for I can tell you he'll see no more change in that than in the *Waver-Cake*, tho' consecrated by a *Cardinal*: And by these subtil Contrivances he may cheat the Parson of his Tyths, and save his *Church Rate*, and *Easter-Offerings*; And all this he may justly do by vertue of that short Maxim of yours, *viz. By taking a Liberty of his own Actions*; Now supposing this Maxim of yours to be good and true, I see not why the *Mob* may not hang, draw, and quarter as well as the Magistrate; They have as many Clubs and Fists as the *Constable*, and consequently can seize a Man as effectually: and a *Jury* of *twelve hundred* can vote his Sentence as loud as a *Jury* of *twelve*: and they can guard him to the Gallows as magnificently as the *Sheriff* and *Posse*: and they can tye him up as fast and firm as *Squire Ketch*: since 'tis only a Liberty of their own Actions, to seize or not to seize, to guard or not to guard, to hang or not to hang.

P. Thou

ply it for his Subjects, then the true Church is only such as he thinks to be true, and consequently the national Church must oblige every where alike. Chap. II.

T. I have told you already, *Phil*, I never concern'd my self to know where Truth was found, on what Common, or upon what Day of the Month, nor who found her; whether he were a Petty-Constable, or a Privy-Councellor: neither do I care in what Ship she was brought over, and who 'twas had her in keeping, whether *Cranmer*, *Austin the Monk*, or *Joseph of Arimathea*: only this I am pretty confident of, that 'tis she, and that we have her fast; now she has told us her self, that she'll have nothing to do with ordinary Folks, nothing less than publick Persons, Lords and Bishops will serve her turn; as for abstracted Notions, she knows not what they mean: for there was a true Church, long before that Church was National, and if the Magistrate had chosen any other, such a one would never have been the truer for all that; 'Tis granted indeed he has a Power of adorning the True Church, and making her as fine as he pleases: but the *Lady* is still the same, tho' she's sometimes in *Disabilee*: and therefore Truth is neither at the Subject's nor Sovereigns disposal in that sense you mean, for if every Man were to make what he pleases to be Truth, he might make a Title to the best Estate in *Norfolk*: and if the Magistrate had the entire disposal of it, he would have very little occasion to summon Witnesses, hear Council, impannel *Juries*, or call *Parliaments*: But still after full Evidence

Chap. II. Evidence and free Debate, 'tis fit the Magistrate should at last determine.

P. Why so, *Tim?*

T. I'll tell you by way of Instance: for here are you and I in high wrangle, supposing, demonstrating, contradicting, damning and confounding, bandying Cases about, and tossing School-questions at one another: we hurl Axioms to and fro, run a Tilt with Terms, shiver Notions to Splinters.

——And with Distinctions keen,
Cut forms Immortal——

[a] *See Homer and Milton compar'd.*

Now as it was in the Case of [a] *Cherubim and Seraphim*, *Diomed and Venus*, immediately after the Incision is over, the Aerial Parts close and come together again, and 'tis hard to find which way went the distinction, altogether as unaccountable as the *way of a Keel in the Sea*, or the *way of a Man with a Maid:* And amidst this Huddle and Medley of things, 'tis highly convenient, say I, there should be a Moderator and Judge between us: for if you and I have both a right to determine what is *Truth*, and so have all the rest of Mankind, we must also determine what is *Right:* and he that has that in his Power, must be a Supreme, Despotick, Uncontrolable Tyrant: and then, I think, 'tis convenient to have only one of that sort, who may be perhaps at *Oatlands* or *Theobalds*, or at some distance from us, rather than to have as many Tyrants as there are Inhabitants in the Parish, or Folks in the Market; Besides, 'tis the Magistrate's Interest to preserve

preserve the Sanctuaries of Truth Sacred and In-
corrupt, and to judge of Truth impartially: Chap. IX.
but in the Interest of a Multitude to debase
and corrupt it; Justice is every whit as ab-
stracted as Truth, till apply'd to particular
Cases, and yet if every one had the applying
of it himself, there could be no end of strife
between *Plaintiff* and *Defendant*; but the
Magistrate has the application of it, and shall
be taken that he do not [illegible]
against *Bargain and Sale*, [illegible]
on from the *four Cardinal Vertues*.

P. Well but now, [illegible]
not belong to the State, [illegible]
munication does: [illegible]
all Societies to [illegible]
derly and uncon[illegible]
Orders.

T. Very well, [illegible]
ciety, and Excom[illegible]
cieties, why [illegible]
to the Church?

P. But [illegible]
Magistrate, [illegible]
ties intrusted [illegible]
receive it.

T. [illegible]
commu[illegible]
gy, [illegible]
leges [illegible]
ing, [illegible]
are under [illegible]
kind: [illegible]
withhold [illegible]
those [illegible]
giftrat[illegible]

Chap. II. ceaſe to pray and to preach, and to give the Sacrament to a Reprobate, but as for turning him out of the Church or the Society, or puniſhing him in his Perſon or Goods, that Power is wholly of the States beſtowing: but the other, as I ſaid, belongs in ſome meaſure to all Mankind: tho' I cannot baniſh my Son *Tom* into *Turkey*, nor wring his Neck from his Shoulders for *Paternal* High-Treaſon: yet I may juſtly baniſh him the beſt Garden, or withhold from him his ſhare of ſtew'd Prunes without Tyranny or Uſurpation; but then there is a Reaſon too, why the Church thinks the State oblig'd to join with her againſt Reprobates, and that is becauſe the State is *Chriſtian* as well as the Church, and therefore will have none but thoſe that are ſo too within its Protection.

P. Ay, there's the Pinch: you think the Laity ought not to converſe with thoſe who are delivered over to *Satan:* but is it not ſtrange that a Miniſter of God, whoſe Buſineſs is to ſave Men from *Satan*, ſhould plead a Divine Right to deliver 'um into his Power, as if he were a proper Inſtrument for their Converſion?

T. What Alterations the Devil has underwent, I cannot very well ſay, but I fancy he was no more fit to convert any Body heretofore, than he is now: and yet St. *Paul* did in thoſe Days deliver *Hymeneus*, and *Philetus* to him, nay he himſelf ſays, he deliver'd 'um to him on purpoſe *that they ſhould learn not to blaſpheme*, tho' one would think the Devil ſhould teach 'um no ſuch pious Leſſon: and yet there's no great need of a Commentator

unriddle this, for we ſee the Magiſtrate, tho' he's ſet on purpoſe to preſerve the Liberties of the Subject, yet ſometimes deputes a Bailiff and a Jaylor to ſupply his Place, which one would imagine (but that this ſame Politicks is a meer Myſtery) were no ſuch great Friends to Liberty, but that a Man had much rather be left to look after himſelf. Chap. II.

P. Now I cannot ſee how the Clergy can inflict the leaſt ſpiritual Puniſhment, for all Puniſhments are ſo far Spiritual, as they tend to hinder Wickedneſs, which, if in the Clergy's Power, would give 'um a right to the higheſt Juriſdiction; the Puniſhments inflicted on *Elymas* and *Ananias* were certainly ſpiritual, and there's no reaſon why the ſame ſhould not be ſo now, for it's being by an extraordinary Power, does not alter the Nature of the Puniſhment.

T. Now I fancy with my ſelf, that all Puniſhments take their denomination from the Authority by which they are inflicted: for ſuppoſe I ſlap a Man o'er the Chaps, this doubtleſs is a Puniſhment, nay, and according to you, a ſpiritual one too, if 'twas deſign'd to recompence his biting me at *Kittlepins*, or to prevent his cheating me at *All-fours*: and yet I queſtion whether in this Caſe the Eccleſiaſtical Laws will ſecure me againſt a *Warrant* of the *Peace*; 'tis true as you ſay, the extraordinary way of putting out *Elymas*'s Eyes, and ſlaying *Ananias*, makes no alteration in the Puniſhment: yet I am cruelly afraid if People ſhould take a liking to the contrary Opinion, they may venture to give this Reaſon for't: That if the way had been ordinary, that

is,

Chap. II. is, if *Elymas* had been blinded with Gunpowder, and *Ananias* knock'd down with an Oaken Plant, 'tis odds whether some *Jew* of a *Justice* would not have enquired by what Authority this was done, notwithstanding he had a very good account of the Nature of the Punishment from the *Surgeon* or *Coroner*'s *Inquest*: and therefore I say as you say, that the same Punishments would be spiritual still, if inflicted by the same Authority, but whether you will allow the spiritual Authority to inflict the same Punishments, is perhaps a Question: and yet if you would be graciously pleas'd to allow it, I'll engage it shall only tend to hinder Wickedness, neither shall *Country Justices* and *Attorneys* be a Farthing the worse for't.

P. But canst thou venture to say, that the *Jews* condemning our *Saviour* was a spiritual Punishment?

T. Why truly, *Phil*, I would venture to say it, if 'twere at all to your purpose.

P. Horrid!

T. Abominable!——And yet *a Judgment by a legal Authority is valid, tho' not Right.*

P. I know not what legal Authority the Church pretends to, but this I'm sure of, that for the Clergy to turn Men out of the Church under pretence of preserving its Unity, is the same thing as to say, the only way to keep Men in the Church, is to turn 'um out of it, and as good Sense as to averr, that the putting Men out of the common Road of Salvation, is the only way to save 'um.

T. Nay, *Phil*, if the Clergy are Fools, their Masters must be little better: for I'll be sworn they learnt this trick of the State-mongers:

they have a *Unity* too, and 'tis their business to preserve it: but if Men won't be conformable, they give 'um such a *Turn out at Tyburn*, as is worse than Excommunication by I can't tell how much, and yet 'tis strange to see what a rare Preservative this is of Unity: Nay, and 'tis every whit as good Sense, as to banish a Man in order to make him a good Subject, and yet you know Banishment puts a Man out of the Road of Allegiance, as much as a Church *Anathema* does out of the Road of Salvation; In short, *Phil*, this confounded Politicks will certainly puzzle us all: for I'll warrant now, if you and *To——d*, and *As——l*, and *D——e* were to be set Cheek by Joul, in the Pillory, you'd soon find by experience, that the uniting of her Majesty's loving Subjects would be effectually brought about, by setting some of 'um together by the Ears. Chap. II.

P. 'Tis very well, *Tim!*

T. Sir, I say, 'tis not well: and I could find in my Heart to be most furiously angry with you: for here have you been all this *Chapter* long, haranguing against the internal Power of the Church: Now the internal Power of the Church is wholly founded in Scripture, and therefore the best way would have been for you to have look'd over all those Texts, which the Clergy do chiefly relyon, and either to have blotted 'um out of the Bible, or else have rak'd and tortur'd 'um worse than the *Heathens* did their *Martyrs*, till you had got 'um to speak just as you pleas'd: Instead of this, you have turn'd the tot[illegible] of [illegible]

is the Supreme Governor of Conscience, that a Rascal may sometimes get into Orders, that the People can lay hands on a Minister and exalt him to the Pulpit, and also lay hands on a Reprobate and thrust him out of Company: and then to imagine that all this is against Church Power, or that it hurts the *Parson* any more than the *Constable:* and to expect the Church should answer all this, when 'tis well known she has not Interest enough to get a rate for Pen, Ink and Paper, is indeed a very Victorious way, and must needs puzzle People worse than *Solomon* was puzzl'd by his *Fool*, when he found himself at a loss, whether to leave him to his Conceits, or condescend to bear him company.

P. Prithee, *Tim*, have Patience but for one Chapter more, and I'll warrant I give thee Scripture enough.

T. That is, when 'tis nothing to the purpose, you'll give us a whole Budget full: but now we are got knee deep in *Internals*, and most in want of it, then you'll not allow us a Scrap: However, we are under your Directions, and must be dieted as you give order; Therefore, if you please, Ring for the *third* Course, and enter *Bell*, *Book*, *and Candle*.

Chap. III.

P. What can be more contrary to Charity, than to exclude Men from the Communion of the Church, if that be, as 'tis usually said, depriving them of the known means of Salvation?

T. And what can be more unreasonable than to fancy, that as soon as ever I am injur'd or affronted by my Neighbour, I must run to him immediately, and without demanding the least Satis-

Satisfaction, desire him of all Loves to be reconcil'd to me, for fear of putting him into a State of Damnation? Or what more unaccountable, than to think, that the Magistrate when he has sent a Man to Goal, and thereby put him out of a sociable State, must immediately set him free again, for fear such a one should not look after his Family, or not mind his Calling? And yet the Church is in this case more easie than the State, since any of her Prisoners may be discharg'd when they please, if they will but be sorry for their Confinement, which one would think should be natural enough in all Conscience, adding withal the old Proviso, that is, *paying their Fees.* Chap. III.

P. But suppose a Man has fail'd in one part of his Duty, why must he be hinder'd from performing the other, such as is the publick Worship of God? and why must he be deprivd of such Reproofs and Instructions, as are necessary to convince and reclaim him?

T. Why indeed! Is it not stark staring *Popery?* I'm told they have a Custom in *Staffordshire* [a] to hang Men up like Dogs, if they do but offer to pick Pockets or steal Sheep: A barbarous Custom no doubt on't! to hinder poor Wretches at once from performing all the *Ten Commandments*, only for having fail'd perhaps in one or two Circumstances; whereas if one of those persecuted Brethren were really entred of the *Temple*, admitted to *Commons*, and had a few good Books concerning Rights and Compacts provided him with such other Reproofs and Instructions as are necessary to convert him, and a good political Tutor to explain 'um to him, who knows what he

[a] *See* Plot's *Natural History*

Chap. III. might come to? But thus 'tis that this persecuting Spirit gets Ground, and that even in lesser Matters: for now a days when a Man lists himself in a toping Club, and upon his admission consents to the Articles and Terms of that Society: if afterwards he happens to baulk his Glass, or drink over the right Thumb, he must not take it ill to be excluded, tho' 'tis possible he can give a very good account of that practice, from *Lipsius* or *Plutarch*'s *Symposiacks*.

P. Now thou talk'st of Clubbing and Feasting, *Tim*, how can'st thou justifie that inconsistent Cant of the Clergy about the *Sacrament*? Of which they sometimes say, 'tis a great Punishment to be depriv'd, and at other times, that 'tis a great Blessing———

T. Why, *Sir*, if they had said, that it was a Punishment and a Blessing at the same time, perhaps I might have been at a loss to justifie it: but that the same thing should at different times alter and change, is no such mighty Miracle, at least I could give you Instances of it by Wholesale within a few Years: so that I'll say perhaps, that when a Man's duly prepar'd, then to be debar'd is a Punishment: when he's not so, but in a course of Sin, then 'tis a favour.

P. But then, *Tim*, if it be a Crime to receive, the Clergy's refusal can have nothing of Punishment in't.

T. Now *Wolf*? Now *Sheep-skin*! What then you fancy there's no such thing as legal Punishment or Authority, unless the Magistrate turns Tyrant, and punishes unjustly on purpose to torment People? for if either State or Church

Church do punish justly and with a good design, *viz*, that they may not be suppos'd to contribute to other Mens sins, but if possible to reclaim them, presently you cry out, that this is no Punishment but a favour: by which Rule I'll desire 'um this Moment to favour you with the *Dry* Martyrdom of the Pillory: it can be no Punishment, since the farther you are suffer'd to go, the worse you are like to prove. Chap. III.

P. For State-favours, it seems, I must ask leave of the Clergy: for tho' they pretend to exclude from the Sacrament, yet they'll have none Prefer'd in the Government, but those that receive it their way, that is, they would have none prefer'd but their own Favourites.

T. Look ye, *Phil*, the State will make what terms of Communion it pleases, and if it takes care to make the Sacrament one of the Qualifications, 'tis not to prefer whom the Clergy please, for the Clergy cannot withold the Sacrament but for such Reasons as the Publick has allow'd of, but 'tis for this end that all that are to be prefer'd would first condescend to be *Christians*, and of the Church of *England*: Nay, such is our good Nature, that we deal by our Enemies as our Maker did by *Ahab*, and won't let even a little Hypocritical Devotion go without a Blessing.

P. Don't mistake me, *Tim*: I would have People shun a wicked Man as much as possible, and I think such a one has forfeited all Right to human Society.

T. And yet you won't allow him to be turn'd out of the Church: Well, this *Logick*

Chap. III. is a rare thing: for I'll warrant now you can make it appear, that excluding is vastly different from shunning, which last you are positive is not half so bad as what *Selden*, *Josephus* and the *Druids* pretend to: and I suppose you are as well provided to demonstrate, that tho' a Man has forfeited a Right, yet he cannot justly be depriv'd of it: and then besides, that the Church is not nor can be a Human Society.

P. Do but consider, *Tim*, what our Saviour's way was: he kept company with Sinners, as with those who had most occasion for him: and so does every good Physician with the sick and weak, and 'tis their proper business to do so.

T. The Person you mention, *Phil*, did indeed converse with Sinners, yet 'twas with such only as were willing to be reform'd and made better: but as for the stubborn and obstinate, he orders his Followers to use 'um as so many Heathens and Publicans; and in the same manner the Physician does indeed converse with the Sick, but 'tis with such who submit to his Prescriptions, and depend upon his skill: but for those that are obstinate and ungovernable, he calls for Cords and a drenching Horn, and if that won't do, gives 'um over to the last Receipt, a dark Room and a Barber Surgeon.

P. For my part the excluding People from Church Communion seems to be so unreasonable, that I have often wonder'd whence it had its rise: and I can find no other way to account for it, than the Ambition and Interest of the Clergy: for this Reason they magnifie this

this Punishment at such a rate, obliging all Persons to shun the Excommunicate, suffering him to continue under that Sentence sometimes till Death, tho' they believe such a State is damnable, and then engaging the Magistrate to deny him the Privilege of the Law, whereby People are permitted not to keep faith with him. Chap. III.

T. Soft and fair, *Phil:* Excommunication is by known Laws and Canons affixt to certain notorious and scandalous Crimes, such as none can justifie or excuse: and if the Clergy should offer to inflict it for what Crimes soever they pleas'd, and to extend the Sentence as far as they thought good, there are those in and about *Westminster*, would take care to pare their Nails and Horns, and keep 'um from being too Curst and Unlucky: and therefore a Person Excommunicate is the same thing in the modern Translation as an impenitent Fornicator or Adulterer, and I think there needs no great straining of *Anathemas* to pronounce such a one in the State of Damnation, and if he has a mind to continue there, you know 'tis against Liberty of Conscience to force him to quit it: But if the State does well to outlaw such a Person for offending God and Man so very notoriously, 'tis not much kinder in temporal Cases, since it inflicts the very same Punishment in a petty Trespass of Five Pound value, and much worse for Nimming a Cloak, and making an Invasion into a foreign Orchat or Henroost.

P. You do not find, *Tim.* that among the *Jews*, any were excluded the Passover, Tem-

Chap. III.

ple or Synagogue, for any moral Uncleanness.

7. But I find that for those Causes for which we Excommunicate, the *Jewish* Priests could condemn to Death: Now I think in deprivation of Life is included deprivation of Passover, Temple and Synagogue: this was the Punishment for [a] Rapes, Incest, and Adultery, for [b] Blasphemy, and Prophaness, for [c] Prophanation of the Sabbath, for [d] enticing others to Idolatry, for presuming to [e] teach or preach without a Commission, nay, even for [f] Tythe-stealing, and all this after the Law of Nature was invented, but before they had luck't upon any of your *Rights*: this was the Punishment of [g] Stubborness to Father or Mother, notwithstanding your *Introduction*: then the [h] Punishments for Perjury and simple Fornication are much greater than what the Clergy can now pretend to: [i] Whores and Sodomites were not to be suffer'd in *Israel*, and yet I take such to be morally unclean: and how they could be excluded from *Israel*, without being excluded from the Temple and Synagogue, I believe would puzzle a Dozen *Rabbies* to determine; Now I dare venture to say, that if by quoting the Jewish Customs as a Precedent for the Christian Church, and the Precedent is taken from very good Reports tho' sometimes you can't bear to hear of 'um, you would have our Clergy claim no more Power than did the *Jewish* Priests, well and good! we'll join issue, and shake hands with you upon the same, provided you'll allow 'um so much: and if you'll let 'um stone Adulterers, Hereticks, and Rebels to Death, Excommunicate

[a] Deut. 22.
[b] Levit. 24.
[c] Exod. 31.
[d] Deut. 13.
[e] Deut. 18.
[f] Num. 17.
[g] Deut. 21.
[h] Deut. 19.
Deut. 22.
[i] Deut. 23.

municate for Rites and Ceremonies, and do those other Feats mention'd in *Deuteronomy* and *Leviticus*, they shall give you up their present Charter, and thank you into the Bargain: besides too, since the Levitical Washings and Purifications answer to Moral Purity under the Christian System, by the same Parallel, Natural Uncleaness under the Law must also answer to Moral Uncleaness under the Gospel, and then the removing Persons from the Synagogue and Temple for the First, must at long run signifie the removing Persons from the Christian Church for the Last: at least the Shadows and Substances must stand in this order, till you can find a better to put 'um in; So that by all means I would have you give over *Judaizing*, otherwise People will imagine without any further search, that your Understanding at least has pass'd the Ceremony of *Circumcision*.

P. No *Tim*, I need not take the Hint from the *Jews*, the Power of Excommunication is deriv'd from a nobler Origin: from the *Druids* of *Gaul*, from the Heathens, *Tim*, and those that deny Christianity; ha'st thou read *Selden*, *Tim*, and *Cæsar's Commentaries?*

T. Yes that I have; and I have also read *Bevis* of *Southampton*, *Brady*, *Bently*, and *Lazarillo de Tormes:* And I do find so many strange Occurrences therein, from whence the Clergy might take this same Hint of Excommunication, that let *Selden*, and You, and *Cæsar*, tho' you take all of that *High church* Name and Family, say what you please, I am resolv'd these same Dolts of *Druids* shall never

Chap. III. ver run away with the Credit of the Invention.

P. Then prithee fetch it whence you will.

T. Don't think, *Phil*, that you shall ever stint me, since I have so many rare hints, and so many curious Authorities to make choice of: Not but I must tell you, I hate all Parallels: Comparisons are odious: and when the Gossips are once resolv'd to fix upon the Father, 'tis easie for a good nimble Imagination after a Dram or two, to find out a thousand pretty Likènesses in the Child: thus you shall have an Author sometimes deal as surprizingly in the Derivation of a Custom, as an Etymologist in the Lineage of a *Greek* Word, or a Herald in the Pedigree of a Citizen: by their *quirks*, and their *quasis*, and by the dint of *Anagram* and *Onomatopeia*, they shall match Customs together, and make two Persons to be of the same Name and Family, which at first sight one would no more fancy to be alike, than an Alderman and his Heir apparent.

P. Then you think the Parallel I have drawn between the *Druids* and Clergy, is not in the least Just and Proper?

T. Why truly, upon full view, I do think there may be some Features very resembling, and in all probability *Cæsar* did thereby intend to Prophecy of the *High Church:* Tho' I fancy he might have made the same Observations at home without passing the *Tyber:* Nay the Priests of *Egypt*, *India*, and *Turkey*, have all learnt the same Trick: nay there's an account in your beloved *Milton* of one *Abdiel*, that was Excommunicated from the Society of *Devils:* so that if you pleas'd you might have deriv'd it

it from them; And suppose a Man should deduce it from *Esop's Fables*, and quote the Decree of the Birds against the *Bat*: Questionless one might justifie such a Design; but he that would be an Historian indeed, and resolv'd to shew his Parts to purpose, let him find that Nation, Sect, State, or Society, that never exercis'd this Power of expelling a Refractory and Rebellious Subject: this would be a Discovery worthy a *Pamphleteer* in *Quarto*: Whereas 'tis very nice indeed to think that so common and natural a Power was deriv'd in an especial manner from the *Druids*, and you might with as much colour of Reason and History, have deriv'd the noble Invention of *Plaisters* from the *good Samaritan*, or the scandalous Devise of *Small Beer* from *Jonadab* the Son of *Rechab*. Chap. III.

P. But can'st thou tell me, *Tim*, whence the sacrificing of Men upon a religious Account was deriv'd? There is a difference indeed between the Antients and the Moderns in this point, for they sacrific'd Men to the Devil, but these to God.

T. You may if you please, *Phil*, leave Religion to shift for its self, and so you may common Honesty: but let me tell you, 'tis ill trusting a slippery Age: not but they have both Excellencies enough to recommend them: and yet 'tis the fate of many a pretty Nymph to twinkle unobserv'd, whilst so many false Meteors shall be gaz'd at with Admiration. 'Tis true I cannot punish my Neighbour for Heresie, because he has a Conscience as well as I, which may perhaps satisfie him that he is in the Right: neither can I undertake to [illegible]

for picking my Pocket, for perhaps his ſon tells him he has occaſion for't, or it be a Right to't: but then comes the Ma-ate, and he makes Religion a common cern, and every ones particular Right all with the Publick: and then to puniſh for Hereſie, is the ſame thing as to puniſh for High-Treaſon: and the *Church* being as much a Part of the Government as the *Guards* or *Gariſons*, he that Rebels againſt the one, may be as liable to an Indictment, as he that Mutinies againſt t'other: Not but the State may pardon both if it pleaſes, but if it ſhould puniſh with the utmoſt rigour, you may eaſily call it ſacrificing Men to God, For who can help it? And at the ſame rate, you may ſay, when a Felon ſuffers at *Kingſton*, that he's ſacrific'd to the *Lord Chief Juſtice:* or when a Traitor's ty'd up to *Tyburn*, that he falls a Victim to the vengeance of *my Lord Mayor*.

P. Thou would'ſt fain take me off from purſuing the High-Church Track: but I'll keep on my way, and ſhow thee how this *Babel* was built: for as ſoon as ever they had gain'd the Power of Excommunication, their next feat was to perſuade the People, that all that died under that Sentence were poſſeſt with the *Devil*.

T. Why really as you ſay the Apoſtolical Form of delivering to *Satan* does ſound very unluckily, and where a Man ſuffers ſuch a Sentence to reſt upon himſelf, when only asking Pardon, the common ſatisfaction of Gentlemen, will reverſe his doom: tho' perhaps in this ſaintiſh Age one cannot ſuppoſe ſuch a one to be poſſeſt with th.

huge Devil of all, yet 'tis probable he may have the *little Devil* of Contradiction. Chap. III.

P. After this, they forg'd silly Stories of the Excommunicate's remaining after Death swoln and undissolv'd in their Bodies, as appears from a Commination of *Cyril*, quoted by *Selden*.

T. But whether *Selden* has done that Father more wrong by quoting him, or you by translating him, is a Question.

P. Make that appear, *Tim.*

T. The Original as you have set it down is without Accents, and as you have render'd it is without Sense: It runs thus, *και μετα τον θανατον αλυτος εν τω νυν αιωνι και εν τω και μελλοντι και τυμπανικος*: Now here you shall see the difference in Translations, according as a Man stands affected to the Original: for I'll translate it thus, *και μετα τον θανατον αλυτος και τυμπανικος*, *the Excommunicated after Death remains bound and unloos'd*, *και εν τω νυν αιωνι και εν τω μελλοντι*, *both in this World and the next*: That is, the Sinner that dies under the just censure of the Church, will find, that what the Church did bind here, will remain so hereafter, which is as handsome a *Comment* upon the *Text* as one could wish; But then come you, and because you are resolv'd to make the *Father* talk like a Fool, therefore *αλυτος* must signifie *undissolv'd*, and so you take the whole as meant of the Bodies of the Excommunicate: which cannot reasonably be suppos'd, unless you could first make it appear, that the Father was generally look'd upon as crazy and hyppish: for as far as I can find by his Writings and his Neighbours, he

Chap. III. he did really hold a general Resurrection, and the Dissolution of the World: now that he should believe the World would be dissolv'd, and all human Bodies rise again, and yet assert that any one human Body after Death, for so 'tis worded, should remain undissolv'd, and never rise nor be remov'd from that *Mummy* State, is ridiculously foolish, and a Favour to the Excommunicate; and then to expose the honest *Patriarch* yet worse, τυμπανικῶς must be translated *stretch'd like a Drum*, whereas I believe neither the good Father nor any of his Co-temporaries had ever heard of that noisie Instrument and Metaphor, unless they heard of it long before 'twas in being: whereas τυμπανικῶς signifies *honestly*, and in a fair way, *bound*, *fasten'd*, *corded*, *or brac'd together*, and is only *synonimous* to αλυσῶς: and tho' it be deriv'd from *Tympanum*, yet he that shall thereupon say that the Excommunicate after Death are turn'd into a *Brass Kettle*, may as well quote that of [a] St. *James*, where he gives an account of Religion, and calls it θρεσκεία, to prove from thence that this Apostle was a *Thracian*, and of the Sect of *Orpheus*, because any one that looks into honest *Scapula*, will there find θρεσκεια to be descended from that antient and renown'd *Fidler*.

[a] Jam. i. 17.

P. Nothing would more expose the Clergy, than to recount their various Notions and Practices concerning the Lord's Supper.

T. And yet if any body else should happen to alter their Notions about any thing, they must be tolerated and charitably conniv'd at, as Men that endeavour to get the knowledge of Things, and to inform themselves the best

they

they can: these are the good Folks of *Latitude*, *Large Thoughts*, and *Free Reasons*, that like *Weather-cocks* can vere to every quarter, and yet belong to the Church still: But if the Clergy a hundred Year ago held the real Presence, tho' 'twas in a sense which ours have renounc'd long since, yet still 'tis the Clergy, *Priests of all Religions being the same*, and they must be sure to bear the blame on't: tho' I question not but by the very same Argument, there's ne'er a Family in *England* but may be charg'd with High-Treason, nor a *Parliament* meet at *Westminster* but may be justly begg'd for their Estates. Chap. III.

P. But did they not call the Sacrament a *Mystery* even in the Heathenish Sense of the Word, and for heathenish Reasons too? and tho' the Fathers often deny'd that they had any Priests, Sacrifices, or Altars: yet all those Terms were soon trumpt up again, and impos'd upon the World.

T. Now I would fain know why the heathenish Word, *Mystery*, may not still be retained, since Christianity came in, as well as the heathenish Words, Religion, Saviour, and Sacraments, or any other heathenish Word in *Littleton* and *Holyoke:* Nay, and in the same Sense too, for the Sacrament, take it as you please, either *Con*, *Trans*, *Sub*, or only by way of *Symbol*, is certainly a Mystery in a heathenish Sense: and its signification being by Order from above, must of course be Supernatural, and consequently Mysterious: for Bread and Wine bear no manner of proportion to Body and Blood even in the *Zwinglian* Account, at least not so much as Marriage

to

Chap. III. to the Union of Christ and his Church, and yet even that is call'd a *Mystery*; And as for the heathenish Reasons of the Clergy, in my Opinion they are very proper to convert Heathens withal, nay 'tis impossible to convert a Heathen without them, no Arguments being more prevalent than those *ad hominem*, taken from the Principles of Nature and common Sense, which are all Pagan and Heathenish Reasons, and I'm sorry 'tis the only Sign of your being a Christian, that you are no better acquainted amongst them. 'Tis true indeed the *Fathers* do sometimes protest against Priests, Altars, and Sacrifices, that is, against such as the Heathens dealt in, or in other words, against Butchers, Graziers, and Anatomists, Stalls and Slaughter-houses, but they did not thereby intend to part with all Sacrifices: They knew there were still some left *that had neither Horns nor Hoofs*, and that *there was an Altar still* and a *perpetual Sacrifice*, which was not therefore likely to cease: nay, and they were so very cunning, as to discover all this, even before the curious and excellent Invention of the *Cambridge Concordance*.

P. Oh let 'um alone for cunning! for their next Trick was to stand by one another in their Power, and if one Bishop excommunicated a Man, another was not to admit him.

T. Really, that was very arch indeed! I wonder whence they learn'd that cunning devise! for I cannot but fancy, that the general Agreement among our Housholders not to own or trust any Person, that has been disinherited by his own proper Parents: as also that common Combination among Judges, Just-

Constables, and Bumbayliffs, not to protect any Person that falls under the displeasure of any one of their Order: and that grand Alliance between Church-Wardens and Overseers, not to receive any one that has been cashier'd by his own Parish, were all cunningly deriv'd from the same subtle and crafty Contrivance. Chap. III.

P. Prithee, *Tim*, let me follow these High-flyers a little further; When they had gain'd this point, then they endeavour'd to persuade People, that taking the Sacrament was absolutely necessary to the Salvation of all.

T. And pray what were the subtle Arguments, by which they brought about this subtle Invention? They told 'um, I'll warrant, that this enacting Clause, *Do this*—— being tack'd to the *Sacrament* as well as to the *Decalogue*, made it every whit as necessary as one of the *Ten Commandments*, and as universal: and what now did the Folks reply to all this? Did they except Fools and Madmen? And did the Clergy thereupon quote *Maldonat* against 'um, he being a very remarkable Father, as appears by that ancient Inscription— *E Societate Jesu?* Or do you really believe, because the Scriptures are necessary to the Salvation of all, or because Prayer is an universal Duty, that thereupon we ought to cram our Children with Bibles, or stop their Mouths with Horn-books? at this rate of proceeding, one would imagine you were [illegible] your second Child-hood, and that [illegible] cramming a little common [illegible] your Throat, could restore you to [illegible] standing again.

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P. Look ye, *Tim*, I don't pretend to charge any fooleries that are purely Popish, upon the *Church of England*: and yet tho' we sufficiently guarded against a real Presence at the *Reformation*, the *Liturgy* was soon alter'd so as that the Papists should not except against it: this, *Tim*, was certainly an extraordinary piece of Condescension.

T. Well and granting all this, which is another of my Favours, for the Liturgy of *Edw.* VI. made more for the real Presence than any other that has obtain'd since, wont this condescension please you? I think you hold against an *Immutable Form*, and that People are oblig'd to alter and vary according to the different Circumstances of Men and Times; Had the Church been obstinate and never consented to any Alterations, then you would have cry'd out, that we were unlike the Apostles, *who became all things to all Men*, *Jews* to the *Jew*, *weak* to the *weak*, and *to those without Law*, as *without Law*: I hope the Papists are Men, and may be us'd accordingly: for I can assure you we have been as kind to the Dissenters too: or have they only of all Sects a peculiar Right to our Favours? But when the Civility's over, then we are call'd a pack of *Trimmers* for our pains even by those very Men that receive the Benefit of our Civility: tho' I think it ought to be a warning to us for the future, to stick to the old Way, since they, whose Fashions we follow, are the first that cry, *Turn-coats*.

P. Can'st thou prove from Scripture, *Tim*, that the Laity ever receiv'd the Sacrament from the Hands of a Priest: or that their receiving

ceiving it in ſuch a Manner is neceſſary? Or can'ſt thou ſhew any difference between that and the *Paſſover*, excepting the Commemoration of our Saviour's Death? Did *Chriſt* add any new Rites thereto? And do not *Clemens*, *Juſtin*, *Irenæus*, *Origen*, and *Grotius* ſay, That the Primitive Chriſtians began their Euchariſt with Praiſes to God for the Creation of the World, and particularly for the Bleſſings of Bread and Wine. Chap. III.

T. Look ye, *Phil*, I am ſo far from being able to ſhew that the Clergy any where in Scripture gave the Sacrament to the Laity, that I cannot for my Life find either Laity or Clergy any where in the *Bible*: neither can I find an account of the Clergy's reading firſt Leſſon, or Publick Prayers, throughout the whole ſet of *Goſpels* and *Epiſtles*: but then ſince I am told, that a Prieſt, nay a Goſpel-Prieſt, for the Text is at leaſt a Bar's length from *Malachi*, is ſuch a kind of a Perſon *as is taken and call'd of God, from among Men, to miniſter in Things pertaining to God*: and ſince the Sacrament is certainly one of thoſe Things, I fancy it may follow, that the Management of it, under God, belongs to the Prieſt; 'Tis true, indeed, you would fain be *Judaizing* again: and are of opinion that the Sacrament is a meer Paſſover, without any new Ceremonies in the Conſecration: whereas now to my thinking (and my Thoughts are as free as yours) it ſeems to be a quite different Inſtitution; for I'm told, that the Sacrament was inſtituted *after Supper*: that is after the Paſſover was done, for ſo that Supper there mention'd is to be underſtood; then the *Ele-*

ments are vastly different: *a Lamb was appointed for the Passover*, and no mention of Wine: but *Bread and Wine* for the Sacrament, and no mention of Flesh; then the Ends, as they you know crown all, are as different as Shaddow and Substance: for one commemorates the *sparing of Blood*, and t'other *the shedding of it*: so that not only the Circumstances, but the whole Institution are intirely new, and at your service; As for *Origen*, and *Clemens*, and the rest, they may be very honest Gentlemen for all that I know, I have nothing at present to say against 'um: and if they tell you, that the Primitive Christians began their Eucharist with Hymns for the Blessings of Bread and Wine: with all my Heart: 'tis all one to *Tim*: and those Christians might do very well, and had very good Reason for so doing, because those Blessings are really very good and very comfortable: and the *Jews* might, so far as I know, do the very same: as did also the Heathens at the Feasts of *Bacchus* and *Ceres*, and yet I much question if those Feasts are the same with the Sacrament: nay I question yet more, if there be any the least Holiness in a *Tavern-Club* or Jovial Crew of Topers, tho' they begin their Solemnity with a *Song* in praise of *Punch*, or a *Hymn* to the *Barly-Mow*.

P. But does it appear, *Tim*, that even *Judas*, Traitor as he was, stood Excommunicate, and was expell'd the Sacrament by our Saviour? Does not *Tertullian* say, *That the receiving the Elements only from the Bishop, and before Day, was an Innovation, and that 'twas committed by our Saviour to all, and at all times.*

T. As to *Judas*, I am shrewdly afraid, he was expell'd from the Sacrament by our Saviour; for the Sacrament began *after Supper:* now at Supper our Saviour dips a Sop in the Dish, and gives it to *Judas:* and this I cannot look upon to be any part of the Sacramental Elements, because they were not consecrated till after Supper: and tho' this Sop might be of Bread, yet there's no mention of Wine, the dipping in the Dish importing somewhat of a very different Composition: Now upon *Judas*'s receiving the Sop, 'tis said, *the Devil presently enter'd, and he was forc'd to leave the Room:* which I believe we had best attribute to a Sentence of our *Saviour*'s, and not to the old Proverb, *needs must, &c:* for the Devil would scarce drive him from that, which would be his certain Damnation; But however, that he was excluded, is I think pretty plain; As for *Tertullian*, if he has said, *That the Sacrament was not committed to the Bishop only, and that it might be celebrated at Meal times as well as before Day*, we think him hugely in the Right: but if you would thereby insinuate, that the Sacrament is no more than a common Meal, nothing can be more contrary to the Judgment of St. *Paul*, somewhat a better a Judge than *Tertullian*, for he orders those that were hungry to *eat at home*, before they came to the Sacrament: which was very ill Advice, if the Sacrament might be celebrated at home, and was no more than a common Meal: since even there they might commemorate our Saviour's Death, provided they said *Grace* to their Meat; But if by *its being committed to all*, *Tertullian* means, that Presbyters

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P. Wilt thou take the Opinion of *Wickliff*, that famous Proteſtant? He ſays, *that Excommunication is not founded in the Law of Chriſt.*

T. He means, I ſuppoſe, 'tis not to be found in the four *Goſpels*, but look into the *Epiſtles*, and there I am ſure you may meet with it: And they certainly are authentick: but when you only quote a *Faſciculus*, a fardle and bundle of Tracts, and that too a great way inn, *Fol.* 136: in ſuch a huddle, forty to one, if here and there a Miſtake does not pop inn, long before you get half that way: and to give you ſomething of a Conjecture that this is ſo, tho' I believe *Wickliff* was a great Oppoſer of the ſcandalous Practices of the Popiſh Clergy, yet the [a] *Convocation of Oxford*, by their Letters Teſtimonial dated *October* 5, *Anno* 1406, give him this Character, *That his Writings did evidently tend to God's Glory, the weal of his Neighbour, and profit of the Church; that he was a ſtout Champion of the Faith, and was not condemn'd of heretical pravity*; All which they could never ſay of him, if he deny'd Excommunication, ſince that was in thoſe Days as current a Notion in the

[a] *See* How's Cronicle.

as Banishment in the State, and must certainly be Orthodox in the *University*, where 'tis so exactly match'd with *Expulsion*, and answers so patly to the *Vice-Chancellor*'s *Bulls* and *Anathema*'s. Chap. II

P. Then besides *Wickliff*, there is *Erastus*'s Treatise of Excommunication: which Mr. *Selden* says was allow'd by the Archbishop, and several eminent Divines in *England*.

T. He says it indeed, and his Evidence must needs be very good, because he's by no means a Party in the Cause: 'tis true, one Mr. *Fortescue* reported the Approbation of the *Archbishop*: which is also reported from the *Stationer*'s Accounts; Now supposing both these Reports authentick, and that this Mr. *Fortescue* was certainly in the right: yet I can ne'er believe that those Books and Ballads, that flow daily from the Press, tho' they stedfastly affirm of themselves that they are *licens'd and enter'd*, must thereupon be the Doctrines and Principles of our first Ministers of State; Or granting this Treatise did contain the Archbishop's Sentiments, does it follow that it must therefore be the Sentiments of all the other Bishops, or if of all the other, may it not be oppos'd in the *Lower House of Convocation*, or did they never differ till very lately? Besides, I wonder, how Archbishop *Whitgift*, if he held these Notions, would offer to keep up his Court of *Arches*, which should by all means have thereupon been translated to the *Queen*'s-*Bench*; perhaps, as you seem to hint, he only countenanc'd this Doctrine as an Engine against the *Presbyterian* Usurpations, and to oblige the Supremacy to suppress them:

p. III. which is only calling inn a few foreign Powers to serve a Turn, and when that's done, to thank 'um and send 'um home again; Oh! but say you, it must needs be his real Thoughts, and resolute Opinion, because this Book was seen, finely gilt, in the *Lambeth*-Library, with this *Lemma* in a spare Leaf— *Intus quam extra formosior*— which you are positive, was the *Archbishop*'s own writing, for who should presume to write in his Book? Now I do tell you there are such presumptuous People in the World: I hope the *Archbishop* is not above the *Queen*, and yet they deal as presumptuously with her Majesty's Books at St. *James*'s: and I believe there are those that might write this in *Erastus*, much rather than in the *Polyglot* Bible; Indeed, if the Book had been found in his Closet, much more might have been said in the Matter: besides, Archbishop *Whitgift* was not so sparing of his writing, nor *Selden* so lazy an *Antiquarian*, but he might have found a few Scraps to prove Parity of Hands; Or say it were his writing: will it follow that whatever he approves or takes a fancy to, is his *Creed* and the *Confession* of his Faith? If you'll step to my Chamber I can shew you under my own hand——*Eris mihi Magnus Apollo*— or— *Tale tuum Carmen nobis, divine Poeta, &c.*——In the front of my *Dauphine Virgil*, and yet I should take it very ill if any body from hence should imagine, that I hold the Doctrine of [a] Purgatory, and the Impregnation of [b] Mares by the West Wind.

Æneid 6.
Geor. 3.

P. I fancy, *Tim*, however, thou art one of those that believe Consecration and Ordination, *&c*, and that only the Priest can make

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Sacrament, becauſe he only can conſecrate the Elements. Chap. III.

T. Why really, *Sir*, to confeſs the downright Truth, I have ſuch a fancy: and I tell you plainly Scripture is all I can bring for't; Now beſides what I have already hinted, that the Sacrament is a holy Thing, and that in all ſuch the Prieſt is to bear rule by the very Nature of his Office, I do find that our Saviour in the very Inſtitution of the Sacrament deſign'd this ſhould be the method of that Solemnity: For I am of Opinion that what our *Saviour* did the Night he was betray'd was far from being a real and compleat Sacrament, but was only to ſhew his *Apoſtles* how they ſhould order that Solemnity after his Aſcenſion: The Reaſons that have induc'd me to this Conjecture are as follow; 1. *Firſt*, I fancy, that the Sacrament is at leaſt a Figure and Commemoration of our Lord's Paſſion, whereas our Lord had not ſuffer'd at that time: if you ſay, 'twas a Type of his Death as future, then I ſay it could not differ from the *Paſſover*, for that was ſo too. 2. *Secondly*, The great Deſign of the Sacrament is actually to convey to us the Graces of the Holy Spirit, whereas he was not at that time deſcended. 3. *Thirdly*, If that was a real and compleat Sacrament, why ſhould our Saviour exclude the *Seventy* and all his other Diſciples, ſince 'tis plain he admitted only Apoſtles: and yet there were thoſe, his *Mother* for inſtance, who ſtood more firmly to him and his Religion, than any of the Apoſtles themſelves: for they upon his delivery to *Pilate* all at once forſook him; Now if this firſt Inſtitution were no real Sacra-

ment,

Chap. III. ment, then by the By, supposing *Judas* was admitted, you need not be so surpriz'd at the Manner: but if it were only design'd as a Pattern and Form for the Churches Use in the Celebration of the Eucharist after his Death, then 'tis plain from this Form, that the Consecration of the Elements was committed to the Apostles only, and in after-Ages to their Successors, and those commission'd by them; This is my fancy: now let's have your Judgment in the Case.

P. Why my Judgment, *Tim*, is this: that no one is more a Priest from Scripture than another: that Priest and Sacrificer, terms not us'd in the Gospel above twice, are equally applicable to all Christians: that there's no reason to affirm that the Minister offers up the People's Prayers, any more than they his: unless 'tis suppos'd God hears only the loudest: nay the *Clark* has as much Title to the Priesthood as the Parson, for he offers up Hymns for the Congregation and spiritual Songs in their Name; And then at the Sacrament, does not every one apply the same Bread and Wine to the same holy Purposes as well as the Minister? This, and this only, is the best and truest Consecration.

T. Look ye, *Phil*, we wont insist with you for the word Priest and Sacrificer: not but that the first Term is apply'd to Christ more than twice or ten times: Must it therefore belong to every body, or only to those who make his Priesthood *everlasting?* But if in the room of Priest, we have Apostles, Bishops, Evangelists, Pastors, Teachers, Rulers, Elders, Overseers, *&c*, which are as good Marks of Distinction and

and Pre-eminence, and some of these expresly declar'd different by the *Holy Ghost* that made 'um, that's enough to overthrow your levelling Notion of all Christians having equal Authority in things sacred: And tho' St. *Peter* says *we are all a Royal Priesthood*, May not I as well say of all the good People of *Great-Britain*, that they are a *Monarchy?* Will any one be so senseless to imagine from thence, that we are all Princes of the Blood, and Heirs apparent? Does not God [a] tell the People of *Israel*, that they should be unto him a *Kingdom of Priests?* And yet if any one of that Nation usurp'd that Office, he was sure to die for't without Mercy; St. *John* [b] says, *That the Lamb has made us all* (meaning all Christians, for so you expound it) *Priests unto God:* but then under favour, this can be apply'd only to the *twenty-four Elders*, whoever they were: who are so far from complementing the People with the Priesthood, that when they were ordain'd to that Office, they tell us, *that in order thereto* (observe now, for 'tis point blanck against you) *they were redeem'd or separated, from every Kindred, and Tongue, and People, and Nation*; so that here's a delicate Hypothesis spoil'd: could you have fix'd this upon the People, then 'twould have been rare times with 'um indeed: because besides their being Priests, they must also have been *all Kings, and have reign'd upon the Earth:* for so it follows in the Text: which would have been as good a Bait to the *Christian Trap* you talk of, as *Mahomet*'s Paradise of *Maidenheads:* and withal, when the People were all to have been Kings, they could

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[a] Exod. xix.

[b] Rev. v. 10.

Chap. III. could not have fail'd of a World of Subjects, a rich *Exchequer*, and very large Dominions; As to your other Notion about Prayers and Praises, that they are the only Christian Sacrifices: you might as well have added, that therefore Baptism, and the Sacrament of Bread and Wine, are profane: for if they are holy, as well as the other, they may find a Metaphor perhaps in *Barnaby*, that may give 'um as good a right to that glorious Appellation: and if *Isaac* be said to be sacrifie'd, tho' 'twas in the Ram as his Proxy: we are his Brethren in *Gavel-kind*, *Co-heirs of Father Abraham*, and may have a *Sacrifice by Representation* as well as he; But the People must pray in publick, as well as the Priest: And what is the *Clark*, but one of the People? This indeed is true: the Priest is but the Mouth of the Congregation, and in Cathedrals the Service is shar'd in a great measure among the Laity: for doubtless every one of 'um has an interest in the Liturgy: which is confess'd by the Priest, in that usual Form, *Let us pray, &c:* not that every one is a Priest for all that, who, as [a] *Samuel* speaks, *is put into somewhat about the Priesthood*, or contributes in the least thereto: this would make all Mankind Priests, if they did but pay Tyths honestly: and by the same rule make 'um all Generals, if they did but as honestly pay Taxes: both which are very necessary Contributions to those two important Offices; Nay tho' 'tis true, as you say, that every one is to apply the Bread and Wine to himself, yet unless that Bread be made Sacramental, either *Con*, *Trans*, *Sub*, or *Fig*, what can his Application signifie?

[a] 1 Sam. ii. 36.

the same manner every one is to apply the written Word to his own Conscience: but how can he apply the word, unless that word be first dictated, inspir'd, written, printed, publish'd, bought, sold, or given away? Thus too the Law is as dead a Letter as the Gospel, unless every Subject applies it to himself for the managery of his Temporal Affairs, as the other for his Spiritual: but yet 'twill by no means follow, that because *Mr. Mayor* applies the Law in the Case of *Short Pots*, or *Mr. Sythengman* in the grand Affair of tearing Hedges, that therefore either of these is a Legislator and Parliament-Man, or has the least title to the Supremacy.

P. But still here lies the mistake, *Tim:* for the Duty of teaching and exhorting one another, belongs by the Scripture to every Man; we are to rebuke a Brother, and not suffer Sin upon him: and you see, tho' I pretend no Jurisdiction, yet in all Humility I rebuke the Clergy, for thus grossly imposing on the World.

T. Now I have been told by those, who say too they have felt it, that there is a great difference between such brotherly Chastisements as these, and such as in the same Scripture are, *by Authority*; I may reprove for breach of the Peace, and apply very good Texts in such a Case: but he that applies the Stocks in the same Case, is somewhat greater than I, and yet I may reprove such a one, great as he is, with all due Submission to his Office: but by no means *with humility*, as you reprove the Clergy: that is, by calling them Traytors, Hypocrites, Impostors, Luciters, Heathens, and Conjurers:

Chap. III. jurers: and truly if these be your Tricks, when the fit of *Humility* is upon you, I desire you to stand a Mile at least out of the way, when you resolve to be *proud*, and to utter your self *in the bitterness of Spirit*.

P. All I would urge is this, *Tim:* that Men, tho' they resign'd their force to the Publick, yet retain'd a Power of approving or disapproving the Actions of their Neighbours; now if this belongs to the Clergy, if they can render a Man hated, slighted, disgrac'd, and abhor'd by their Censures, what hinders 'um from introducing the *Inquisition?*

T. Now I take it, that the force of the Magistrate always follows his Judgment and Opinion: unless you would have the State strike at random, as Men do at *Thrash Cock:* So that when the People resign'd their Force, they did also part with a little of their Judgment: if they did not, the Magistrate must certainly be their *Tool* in the vilest Sense; Besides, 'twas ill done, to retain the Power of Judging, which ought of course to belong to the few Learned: and yet part with the Force, which does so naturally appertain to the majority; but however that be, I am certain, there are some cases, in which the Civil Magistrate can make a Man hated and despis'd even to Death: and the Ecclesiastical Magistrate claims the same Right from a first Principle of yours, *viz, That 'tis necessary to Government, that those intrusted with it, should punish some certain Crimes with some certain Punishments or Evils, that are not the natural Consequences of those Crimes:* and therefore I fancy, that either you have a very mild

nion of the *Inquisition*, or a very severe one of all our Courts of Justice, and they won't fail to serve you in your kind: tho' in this they proceed upon your own Rights of the State of Nature, for when a Man has render'd himself hated, slighted, disgrac'd, and abhorr'd, by his own rascally Behaviour: they only punish him, for having so scandalously violated your first Principle of *Selfishness*. Chap. III.

P. If this be allow'd, farewel Justice and Honesty, and all distinctions of Virtue and Vice: for at this rate, I must despise and shun a Man, tho' never so Moral; if under the Censures of the Clergy; whereas I would have all the immoral, tho' never so Orthodox, to be avoided: and I would deal fairly and candidly with *Jews*, *Turks*, *Infidels* and *Hereticks*, as I hope they would by me, without any regard to Orthodoxy, which is no more than *a certain Set of Rules, which every Sect confines to their own Society.*

T. Now here lies the Jutt of all this Harangue, that our Clergy make Immorality a Mark of being Orthodox, and that they punish for such things as are Virtuous and Moral: which we should be very sorry to see prov'd, and when any Body attempts it, we'll answer 'um as well as ever we can; as for Christians hoping to be well treated by Heathens, I tell you there is no such thing: and our *Saviour* himself has warn'd us not to expect it: 'tis true, we are to be Civil to the *Jew* and to the *Turk*, and to hope well of 'um, because of their Ignorance: but we should be every jot as Ignorant as they, if we should think that common Civility was a Reason to suppress

Chap. III. Government: or that a Judge should deal candidly and courteously by a Highway-man in hopes of being as candidly us'd by him whenever he came in his way, and therefore I think there must be some regard to Orthodoxy, if it be only for your own Reason: because being all of the Church of *England*, *we are willing to confine the Rules of that Church to our own Sect and Society.*

P. But must not this Method give great Offence to those whom we expect to convert? If when we tell 'um, that our Religion was design'd to make Men kind and affable, at the same time we make it a pretence for Hatred and ill Usage.

T. Why if we should offer to tell 'um so, and bid 'um to look into the *Bible*, I fancy they'd find there, that Christianity was to be the occasion of Wars, Strifes, and Contentions: and after the same manner should we recommend our *English* Laws to an *Abassin* or *Tartar*, and tell him they were design'd to keep the Peace, and preserve the publick Quiet: he would find it strange for all that, to see Law Suits carry'd on at *Westminster*, and Tryals at the *Old Bailey*.

P. A Commission from God authorizing a Person to inflict Ecclesiastical Censures, must suppose that Person first *Infallible*, that he be not mistaken: secondly, *Omniscient*, that he may know the Hearts of those he punishes: and almost *Omnipotent* too, that he may change the Mind by his Censures: then either his Name must be in the Commission, or his Person so describ'd, that there may be no mistaking his Authority.

T. And

T. And pray, *Phil*, why are the Qualifications of our spiritual Governors to be so vastly different from those of the Civil? The Law is Matter of Conscience, as well as the Gospel: and the design of temporal Punishments is to alter the wicked Mind of the Offender, to set him right in his Notions of Justice, and to influence his Heart as well as Hands: and all possible care is to be taken, that the Judge be not out in his Sentence, any more than the Priest: must we therefore from hence require *Infallibility* in a Constable, or *Omniscience* in a Justice of the Peace? or suppose the Parson has not his Name in a visible Commission, 'tis just the same with some Justices: for instance, the *Mayor* here of *Oxford:* he is not so much as nam'd in the Charter, by whose vertue he acts, nor yet is there the least Portraiture or Description of his Person: tho' notwithstanding this, all the *Logick* in the *University* can't pretend to question his Authority.

P. But, *Tim*, God has commanded us to be sincere, to judge, try, and examine the Truth.

T. Well then, e'en try, and judge, and examine the Truth, till you have turn'd it inside out: but pray don't turn her upside down too: for you'll be horribly baulk'd, if you think to find Fornication Orthodox, Adultery Evangelical, or Disorder and Indecency to be *Jure Divino*.

P. Our Saviour, *Tim*, ordered his Apostles to be kind and gentle to all: to *Jew*, *Gentile*, and *Barbarian: to become all things to all Men:* whereas their pretended Successors plead

Chap. III. a right to the contrary method, and have set the World in Flames for the sake of Religion.

T. Whatever kindness they show'd to Foreigners, you have told us they were a little rougher to *Ananias*, *Elimas*, and their own Subjects: So that tho' we favour the *Turk* that lives at *Constantinople*, and the *Tartar* that dwells upon the *Tanais*: yet we may be less upon the smooth with the *Native Turk*, the *Home-bred Tartar*, and to our *Domestick Gentiles*: if Religion be a *Stumbling block to the Quaker, and foolishness to the Presbyterian*, yet we may be a degree wiser; tho' Charity is universal, Justice is as universal as she for her life: A *Prophet* may be *charitably* Pillory'd, and a *Pamphleteer* whipt with *Moderation*; Let the Gospel be as peaceable as it will, yet surely where Feuds arise, Quarrels are fomented, and the publick Tranquillity interrupted, there can be no better way than to run immediately and call the *Constable*.

P. Now I think the best way would be, to have none but moral Causes subject to human Jurisdiction: how happy would Mankind then be? And all these Divisions would cease that now infect the World on the account of Religion.

T. Look ye, *Dick*, if *by moral Causes being subject to human Jurisdiction*, you mean, that the Magistrate should only in general punish the unjust, the lewd, intemperate and disorderly, this would still leave it in his Power to determine, what was Injustice, Lewdness, and Disorder: so that he would be as Arbitrary as ever: or else if you would oblige him to

to set forth in particular Cases, what he did design to punish as such: 'tis odds but here in *England*, the old Cases would stand just as they now do in the *Statute Book*, and the same would be the Case with the *thirty-nine Articles*: and so we should be never the forwarder; But if by moral Causes you mean, only the several Duties contain'd in *Eustathius* and *Hereboord*, in opposition to a reveal'd Law, at least not including it, this indeed would settle Peace effectually in *Europe*, and restore the World to that golden Age of *Heathenism* which you so much magnifie: that is, to an Age in which there was as yet no Christianity; and truly I am intirely of your Opinion, that when Men had once cashier'd all reveal'd Religion, they must be either Mad or Drunk, to think of going to *Loggerheads* about it.

P. I find, *Tim*, I have put thee pretty well to't this *Chapter*: thou art a little abated of thy Jests and Quibbles, and somewhat cast down with the weight and force of my Arguments——Why now so very serious o'the sudden, *Tim?*

T. Why really, *Sir*, considering, as you say, the weight and force of your Arguments, I was fancying, if they had been luckily found out three or four thousand Years ago, it would have sav'd a world of Prophecies about the Destruction of the *Jews*, and have ruin'd 'um all at once, together with both the *Testaments*, *Old* and *New*, so that by this time we should have been fairly rid of the *Bible*.

P. How so, *Tim?*

T. Why thus, *Sir*: you know the old Law was a fair Contract between the *Jews* and their

Chap. III. *King*, and accordingly, upon the Breach of it, he enters his Plaint, commences the Suit, *and pleads with Israel*; Now 'tis plain from the Indentures that he had set up a Sacerdotal Power with Rights, and a Jurisdiction Independent of the State, divided into Subordinate Clans, with Authority to pray and atone for the People, to exclude from the Temple and Publick Worship even for natural Infirmities, and to inflict corporal Pains and Punishments, and even Death it self in moral Causes, for all which the Incumbents were allow'd very good Wages into the bargain: And this, say you, is inconsistent with the Law of Nature, contrary to Reason, prejudicial to the good of Societies, Arbitrary, Illegal, and Tyrannical: And then you bring such terrible Arguments for't, as would effectually have delivered *Israel* from *Moses* as well as *Pharaoh*, would have sav'd the World a Legion of *Rabbies* and *Commentators*, and besides that, have prevented the *Tory* Invention of a *Crucifix*.

P. Make that out: do I endeavour to overthrow the Gospel?

T. Why even there too, God elected, in spite of the *Magistrate and Senate*, a Sett of Priests, of the meanest of Mankind, to instruct the World, and in many things to oppose even Secular Authority: and that their Power might not cease, he appoints a Succession of Men commission'd to rebuke and punish with the Rod, to judge of the Actions and Consciences of Men, and to punish 'um even with Death, which was the Case of *Ananias*; But now according to you, all this is unreasonable and

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arbitrary: and why? Because, by slaying *Ananias*, by delivering *the Incestuous* to *Satan*, and by ordering others to be excluded all Christian Company, they are as effectually turn'd out of the road of their Duty, as if they had been actually pursu'd by an *English Writ* of *Rebellion:* nay, your Arguments are as effectual against your own way of Excommunication by the Votes of the People: for such a removal sets a Man at as great a distance from his Duty, as the other: So that you are as kind however to your self, As to the Parsons and Apostles: and yet now you have fairly clear'd us of both *Testaments*, I wish you would be so good natur'd, as to get us something in the room on't: for we shall want a Bible, if it be but to swear upon, and discover stolen Goods.

P. Nay, prithee, *Tim*, don't accuse me of denying Scripture: I'll warrant I give thee enough on't presently.

T. However, have patience a little, and I'll take one turn with *Hocus Pocus:* but before I begin, I must say a word or two about that Calumny which you bring against the Clergy, for pretending to be God's Representatives, usurping upon his Authority, and thinking themselves in his stead: this you often repeat, with a mighty outrage of Wonder and Surprize: Now I can assure you, this is no such wonderment to any one that has a Bible by him to peruse at his leisure: for the Apostle tells the [a] *Corinthians, that they*, meaning those of the Ministry, *were Ambassadors for Christ*; being, as he explains, in his stead, *as tho' he himself were there in Person*; And even

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[a] 2 Cor. 5. 20.

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under the Law, when the Priesthood was not half so perfect as under the Gospel, God himself, speaking there of Restitution and Recompence, orders it to be made, [b] *To the Lord, even to the Priest:* where 'tis plain, the Priest is set as God's Representative; Nay the glorious Title of *Gods* mention'd in [c] *Exodus*, and the [d] *Psalms*, is both by the [e] Apostle at his Tryal before the *High Priest*, and by our [f] *Saviour* in his Disputes with the *Jews*, expresly apply'd to the Sacerdotal Order; How you'll answer the *Two Testaments* in this Case I know not, but I think you are as fairly found out, as if the Scizzars and Sheets had all join'd with the Bible in your Confutation.

[b] Num. v. 8.
[c] Exo. xxii. 28.
[d] Ps. lxxxii. 6.
[e] Act. xxiii. 5.
[f] John x. 4.

P. Certainly, *Tim*, thou hast a very despicable opinion of my Reasons, and way of arguing.

T. Nay, to tell you the very Truth, I must own I have in my time seen better: I have known here and there a Rake o'er a Bottle very arch upon the Clergy, and a gang of laughing Ladies at a Tea-table very pert upon Religion: It has been ridicul'd sometimes in a Dialogue of Quality, or in a Rhapsody on the Stage by a Hero in Buskins, or in long Periods from the Pulpit by a Short-Cloak-Comedian: and all these in their several Stations have been tolerably witty and Luxuriant on the Subject: but if ever Adventurer went a-Pamphleteering with so small a Stock as you have done: or if ever so much Impudence was so vilely thrown away upon any one, or so slender and barren in its Productions: then will I for ever quit claim to that noble and shining

shining Accomplishment; if you please we'll instance in a few of its Fruits here in this last *Century*; When the Clergy are in the height of their Declamations touching the great Wisdom of the Christian System, how handsomely 'tis contriv'd! How infinitely beyond the *Alcoran* of the *Turks*, or the *Weyma Cabiada* of the *Chinese*! Presently you interpose, and object: That these Contrivers are a parcel of cunning Fellows: that they get one thing first, then another: that this part smells of Priest-craft, t'other of *Druidism* and the *Serpent*; Now all this is granted, and confess'd: Did ever any Body tell you that Religion was foolishness, or Church Government Nonsense and Stupidity? Then perhaps it might have been for your purpose; or did you mean it for Satyr, that the Clergy should be call'd cunning, and subtle, and ingenious, by one who is not fit to carry their Books after them; certainly if you object Wisdom to those, *who are the Salt of the Earth*, 'tis because you value yourself upon your own glorious and amazing Insipidity; Thus too, when 'tis represented that Christianity was intended for the good of all Mankind, so that among the rest, 'tis for the Clergy should be no loser by it: you bawl forward immediately, and forsooth your own Rights of Nature, Property, &c. this is a selfish Scheme: that [illegible] the Orthodox [illegible] Tax [illegible] as [illegible] [illegible] Mankind [illegible] necessary the State [illegible]

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and Rack the Clergy all round, to try if they'll discover any other faith, than what they have already confess'd: that 'tis impossible they should be truly spiritual, till they are starv'd: that to endeavour to live comfortably, is Heresy and Apostasy: That Martyrdom is as necessary to a Gospel, as Hand and Seal to a Bond: that we can't make a step towards Heaven, but like Chimney Sweepers by *a Ladder and a Rope:* That a Cart is the most sanctify'd Oratory, and no Creed to compare to *a last dying Speech and Confession*; Thus again, when we give out, that Religion is a Precious Jewel, excellent and High-priz'd: that she is as good as Liberty and Property, or a Wife and seven Children: then you step inn and declare (in your opinion too very wisely no doubt) that Religion is troublesome and expensive, since it occasions Wars and Dissentions: and then we are sent to the Heathen, and by and by to the *Hollanders*, for a Religion which we shall have no reason to quarrel about, tho' every Body knows the peaceable Disposition of our Church, sufficiently declar'd at least twice every Year, by the renowned signals of Lawrel and Bays; But now by this Rule we had best part with our Estates, for fear they should engage us in broils and Chancery Suits: whereas every Body knows, we'd enjoy them and our Religion too very quietly, if People would but let us alone: only right or wrong, the fault must be in us: So that if I meet a Gentleman on the Road, I'll object to him, that forasmuch as he carries about him a parcel of Guineas and other such Moveables, which if any one should go about to take from him, he

he would certainly make Resistance, whereupon Frays, Duels, and perhaps Blood, might ensue; Therefore to prevent all this mischief, I hawl him before a Magistrate as a Dangerous and disaffected Person, for harbouring and entertaining a *factious quarrelsome* Watch, and a crew of *Turbulent Boistrous* Broad-pieces.

P. But now, *Tim*, for the *immutable Form*: this is highly contended for by some: but to the no small prejudice of Religion: whereas all things relating thereto, being Means or Ends, the first are to be embrac'd only for the sake of the last: Now the Ends of Religion are two, in effect the same, the glory of God, and good of Mankind: but the Means are as various, as the Circumstances Men are under: So that Ecclesiastical Discipline being only Means, must change and vary according to Necessity and Convenience; and the only way to prove any Form to be Divine, is to prove its fitness for those Ends, which 'twas design'd to promote: and if God did not Command whatsoever the Circumstances he has plac'd us in require, there could be no such thing as the Law of Nature: since that consists in acting according to our Circumstances: and consequently an immutable Form is against Nature.

T. Why the show begins most rarely: and yet I fancy, you have omitted something in the Prologue: for tho' all things pertaining to Religion be, as you say, Means and Ends: and tho' the Ends of Religion be two, in effect the same, God's Glory and the good of Mankind: yet the good of Mankind ought also to have been divided into two parts, Temporal and Eternal: and these two, I can satisfie you,

do

Chap. IV. do often lye very far asunder: so that however you may insinuate, that Religion is to be alter'd according to Men's Circumstances, and to be dispens'd with if it be against their present good: yet if that dispensation be against their future good, I can tell you, they'll get but very little by the bargain; for observe, *Phil*, Religion is not to be *quibbled* out of the World, not to be sent packing in a *Similitude* or a *Dilemma*: If it be, I am sure another of the same sort will easily fetch it back again; for here are you dividing it into Means and Ends: may not I now as well divide it into Covenants on God's part, and on ours? Such a Division is as Warrantable and Orthodox as yours: and if upon a fair Stipulation and Indentures between Landlord and Tenant, the latter should imagine, that however in an equitable construction he may vary and alter the Covenants on his part, and the two main Ends of all such Contracts being, a Maintenance for himself, and Rent for his Landlord: that therefore as Means thereunto, he may plow up the Pasturage, and cut down the Copps under the Hill: notwithstanding he had strictly covenanted to the contrary: Because these means are most beneficial to his present Circumstances, and also will best enable him to quit scores with the Squire: I'll be his Council in the Case, and tell him he's most consumedly mistaken; for at this rate, *Phil*, if Men may alter and change from the Terms of the Gospel, as often as their Circumstances require: what need was there of those nice exactions: *that he who fail'd but in one Command, was guilty of the whole: that not an Iota of the Word should be*

be loſt: not a Syllable added thereto, or taken therefrom: Why are Men to part with their Relations, their Poſſeſſions, and their lives, rather than their Duty? And what were all our Saints and Martyrs, but a Crew of Fools and Madmen, that knew not how to be eaſie and complaiſant, and take ſuch means for their preſent good, as beſt ſuited with their Circumſtances? And why are thoſe among the Ancients, who preſum'd to make Inſertions, or to eraſe any thing from Scripture, ſo ſeverely puniſh'd and reprimanded, if 'twere not ſomewhat a more heinous Crime, than here and there a blot in the *Hearth-Money Book*, or the addition of a *Cypher* in the *Exchequer* Accounts? Suppoſe the Goſpel was deſign'd for all Places, and all Times, and all Men? Muſt the Goſpel therefore be fitted to Men, or Men to the Goſpel? or is it requiſite, think you, that in that part deſign'd for *Bantam*, care ſhould be taken not to mention any thing againſt Idolatry: and in that deſign'd for the *Wild Iriſh and Companies of Merchants*, all the leaſt hints againſt Plunder and Rapine, ſhould have been carefully avoided: and in general it ſhould have been provided, that all who are under *abſolute Monarchy*, ſhould hold with the *Unitarians:* that the *Trinity* ſhould have been mention'd only with the *three Eſtates*, and *Polytheiſm* and the *Communion of Saints* in a *Commonwealth*; And then as to times, tho' *Faith* was a good Doctrine in the days of *Spectrums* and *Superſtition:* Yet doubtleſs in a *Mathematical* Age, 'tis impoſſible to be ſav'd but only by *Demonſtration*; 'tis true Rites and Ceremonies, the Skirts and Ornaments of Religion

Chap. IV. ligion are alterable: and yet when we have once got a Set of ſuch as are decent and commendable, Philoſophy and Scripture bid us ſtick *by an old Cuſtom*, *as by an old Friend*: and tho' Charity made us vary once, yet ſince your fatherly Correction, we'll be all good Boys and never do ſo again; 'tis true alſo, that God does ſometimes put Men into ſuch Circumſtances as deprive 'um of the opportunity of doing their Duty: He that's born dumb, can't join in the Prayers of the great Congregation, or make Melody any other ways *than in his Heart:* and he that wants Bread for himſelf, will hardly be perſuaded *to deal any to the hungry:* but ſhall this be an Argument for aboliſhing the *Liturgy*, or for an *Act* of *Parliament* againſt relieving the Poor? If you can talk thus ſaucily of Religion, *Phil*, no wonder you make ſo free with Nature: for whereas we had always a very good opinion of her, that ſhe was a bonny reſolute *Amazon*, that ſtuck to her Principles, and gave *Semper Eadem* for her Motto: when you come to give an account of her, you are for the Doctrine of Inſtability, and the Divine Right of changing, to make her a Favourite at Court: and having ſufficiently abus'd her in your *Introduction*, for her Politicks: now you are altogether as ſevere upon her Morals: for tho' you allow her to deal fairly and keep her ſelf Honeſt, that is, when ſhe's Chuff, and in Pocket, and can afford it: yet when ſhe's out of ſorts, and in bad Circumſtances, if it ſtand with her Convenience, and her Appetite requires it, ſhe may, with a ſafe Conſcience and your moſt gracious leave, either make

of *her own*, or *her Neighbours*, that is, she may either turn *Whore* or *Pick-pocket*. Chap. IV.

P. Thy Harangue, *Tim*, is tedious, and impertinent: for know, when I talk of the Means of Religion, and their being alter'd, I did chiefly design it concerning the Government of the Church, and the *Episcopal* Form, not of the Gospel at large.

T. Methinks now you should seem to mean something else, that is, if your gaping may be presum'd to signifie your meaning: how otherwise could you make the altering of the *Jewish* Law a precedent for altering the Gospel, since that alteration did not consist only in the Form of Church Government, but in altering the express terms of Communion? Or how came you to draw the Parallel between Christianity and Nature: since Nature prescribes no Form of Government whatever, but only some general Rules of Behaviour towards God and one another? So that I cannot but fancy still, that you design'd, we should have new Gospels as often as *Monthly Mercuries:* and 'tis for this Reason, I suppose, that your beloved *Amintor* has been so long a finding out the *fifth* Gospel: tho' I would have both of you set your Hearts at rest, since there are already *four more* than either of you believe.

P. No matter for that, *Tim:* but prithee, as to the immutable Form of Church-Government, what is thy opinion? Dost thou think the Gospel intended, there should be but one and the same Model for all Ages and Nations?

T. Why,

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T. Why, *Phil*, to be free with you, I shall not only give you my Opinion in this Matter: but you shall also have the Folks Names, that are my Informers; For first the Author to the *Hebrews*, in his Account of the Priesthood, tells us, *That no one takes that Honour upon himself, but he that is called of God as was* Aaron: which Text makes Succession as necessary to the Christian Priesthood, as heretofore to the *Aaronical:* For how shall a Christian Priest be called of God? Not immediately, for he's not now to be convers'd with: He must therefore derive this Call from those who were last admitted to that favour, and knew his mind therein that is from Christ and his Apostles; Now if the Apostles or their Successors ordain'd such a Person only to part of their Office, as for Instance, only to preach, such a one must be of a distinct Order from these Apostles: But if he were ordain'd to the whole Office, that is, to preach and to ordain others, and to rule in things sacred, then by such an Ordination he becomes one of the same Order, excepting only supernaturals, and is thereby made an *Apostle*, a *Bishop*, a *Presbyter*, a *Superintendent*, or what you please to call him; Now I do think this Form so far mutable, that upon occasion, these Bishops or Governors may, as circumstances require, divide the Hierarchy into as many Offices as they please, which others, if they think fit, may call Orders: this was done at the making of *Deacons*, *Arch-deacons*, *Arch-bishops*, *Patriarchs*, *Deans*, *Prebendaries*, *&c:* and I do also believe, that these Bishops or Governors ordain'd in a legal Succession, may either ordain

ordain others singly and by themselves: or else agree to do it only in Consults and Cabals: provided still they have the true Succession amongst them: for without that 'tis all Farce and Interlude; Now there being no precedent for ordaining a Multitude, therefore say we, there can be no such thing as sharing the Episcopal Order among many: but if many Bishops will agree among themselves only to ordain in Concert, that method must depend wholly upon their particular Agreement, since every one of 'um must have Episcopal Jurisdiction, and were it not for such Agreement, might ordain singly; But in this I would have Church Government always immutable, that there be ever such a set of Men, the legal Successors of the Apostles, whether they reign singly in their several Dioceses, or are united in Colleges and Corporations after a Parliamentary Form; and this to me should seem a good rational System, and these Alterations I thought allowable; but when I look into the Gospel Accounts of the Christian Church, and those in the Old Testament, by way of prediction of the future Glory of Christianity: I do find so many notable harangues about Unity and Comprehension, and so many Projects form'd for bringing in all the Kingdoms of the World, not only to the same form of Faith and Practice, but even to a Unity in Government and [illegible], and [illegible] discover[illegible] [illegible] signifies [illegible] promise, that [illegible] or [illegible] Temporal State of Christ's Kingdom: I fly from [illegible] good

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Chap. IV. Authority I began to surmise so much, but knowing what a dreadful Man you were, I was resolv'd not to be positive for fear of what might happen.

P. On my word you acted very cautiously: for if you had gone and imagin'd that the being of Christ's Church depended on a Set of Bishops, How precarious would it have been? since the *Roman* Government needed only to have seized and imprison'd all the Christian Bishops, and their Church had sunk in an instant.

T. Now to me that seems to be a very foolish Project: for had I been to have contriv'd the Downfal of the Church, I would have done it more effectually: for so soon as ever one had gone to have seiz'd any of the Bishops within the *Roman* Territories, the rest perhaps might have taken the Alarm and fled: and the number of Bishops increasing daily, scarce a Time can be nam'd, when they were all within that Empire: for they made frequent Detachments into other Parts of the World upon the first Propagation of the Gospel: so that the Business would never have been done to purpose, without a general Alliance and *Croisado*; But immediately after our Saviour's *ascent*, when the number of Bishops was stinted to *Twelve*, and those often met together publickly: then indeed it had been no hard matter for the *Roman* Government to have snap'd 'um all at once: and yet I am cruelly afraid, that all the *Roman* Legions would not have been strong enough for such an Enterprize: 'tis well known a Text of the Old Testament serv'd to rout *Senacherib* and his

his Host, and tho' *Cæsar* might be a better Man than he, so also is a Text of the *New* Testament of more force than one in the *Old*: and therefore no Man knows what Wonders it would have wrought; sure I am the Apostles rely'd on it, 'tis to be seen still at the 28th *of St. Matthew*, and behold, [a] *Is it not a little One!* tho' at the same time, I have known a few *Presbyterians* rely upon a Less, with more Confidence, than the whole Set of Apostles durst ever pretend to.

[a] Ver. ult.

P. But observe, *Tim*, the first Christian Congregations were small and independent of each other, and must require a different Polity from the difference of their Circumstances: and you might as well fit the same Garment to Men and Children, as the same Discipline to all Churches; tho' God cloath'd our first Parents in Beasts Skins, that's no precedent for us: so neither is any particular Discipline, tho Religion was at first cloath'd in it.

T. I profess, *Phil*, you are a perfect *Don Quixot* in politicks: for I know some superstitious People, that can't think of a Change in the State without an Earthquake, a Whale, or a blazing Star: whereas you make no more of *Sophi*, *Soldan*, and *Signior*, than of so many Kings and Queens of *Spades* and *Diamonds*, that may be thrown away in a Pet, whenever the Game goes unluckily: And all that you can shew for the doing these extraordinary feats, is only, *Circumstance*: Now *Circumstance* is to signifie exactly the same thing in Politicks, that *Conscience* was set for in Religion: and 'tis to work just as many Wonders: tho' I fancy the best way would have been, instead

Chap. IV. of C[illegible]*umstance*, to have pop'd down Circumference, they are not much unlike: and then arm'd with white Rod, in the Posture of a *Ge*[illegible]*n* Artist, you might have rais'd what *A*[illegible]*ritions* and enchanted Castles you pleas'd: For in observing the Practice of Politicians, *Phil*, I have found, that tho' they are every jot as expeditious, and as full of Adventures as the sage *Merlin* or *Urgunda*: yet they have quite alter'd the Method of their Proceedings: To hear Serjeant *Kyte* or *Tycho* his Man, utter a Jargon of Diabolical Gibberish, and thereupon to dissolve an enchanted Palace, to spirit away St. *James's*, or make *Hampton-Court* vanish in a trice, can be no such surprize and wonderment: in as much as that terrible Dialect, in which they utter their designs, cannot possibly import less damage to Stone Walls than those cowardly, meanspirited Terms, *Breach*, *Blockade*, *Brigadeer*, *Counterscarp*, *Cohorn and Contribution*; But now our Modern Politician has a nicer way of Conjuring: for he can go to a *Law Dictionary*, and there pick out a parcel of good, harmless, fair-spoken, well-meaning Words, such as *Right*, *Contract*, *Conscience*, and *Circumstance*, which very few People would be scar'd at: and yet when he has once mingled 'um together, and rung the Changes half a dozen Times backwards and forwards, they shall make a Charm as effectual as that in *Œdipus*, *Circe*, or the *British Enchanters*, either to disturb the Ghost of a murder'd King, to raise the Devil, or dissolve Thrones and Dominions; For instance, there's your Friend Dr. *Owen*: * I call him so,

* because you seem to jump in Opinions.

his Sermon at the *Abby* over *Ireton*'s Corps, Chap. IV.
d it is to ſatisfie you that there is *Conjurati-*
ſometimes in the *Pulpit* as well as at the *Al-*
, having firſt obſerv'd, that the moſt uſe-
l Things ought to be prudentially alter'd
t as we alter our Garb and Dreſs (your own
militude to a Tittle) which he there calls *a*
iſcerning of Seaſons: Says thus, *Some things* *Pag. 7.
ain are alterable and diſpenſable, meerly upon
account of preſerving the former Principles,
the like: if any of them are out of courſe,
is a Vacuum *in Nature Politick, for which*
particular Elements inſtantly diſlodge and
nſpoſe themſelves to ſupply, and ſuch are all
rms of Government amongſt Men, which if
her they ſo degenerate of themſelves, that they
ome directly oppoſite, or are ſo ſhatter'd by
vidential Revolutions, as to become uſeleſs
heir proper End, may and ought to be changed,
d not upon other accounts: but now for other
ngs in Government, as the particular way,
ereby Perſons ſhall be deſigned unto it, the
tinuance of the ſame Perſons in it, for a
or a greater Proportion of Time, the ex-
iſe of more or leſs Power by ſome ſorts, or
whole Body of them that are ruled, the
ting of Men for ſome particular ends by
nds and Engagements, and the like occaſi-
l Emergencies, the univerſal diſpoſal of
m is roll'd on Prudence to act according to
ticular Circumſtances. Now I dare be po-
ve that there's ſcarce a Word in all this
rangue, but one may eaſily comprehend
Meaning of it, that is, take each of 'um
themſelves, and as they lye in the Dictio-
ry: and yet put together in the Scheme be-

Chap. IV. fore us, they make as substantial an Enchantment, as if he began with a — *When shall we three meet again* — or only with — *Gogo*, *Magogo*, *Bocobasto*, with the Names of the *Northern Nobility* or *German Generals*; Now to a Man in his Wits, or even to a simple Swain, that's no Conjurer, difference of *Circumstances*, and variety of *Circumstances*, signifie no more than only the common turns of Fortune and accidents of Life: and to suppose Men so very foolish, as to alter and change a well-settled Form in order to prevent Fortune, and make mischief in her stead, is doing that which was always look'd upon as a Misfortune to the World, even when we can't avoid it: and then to charge these changes on Providence, because there is such a Thing in the World, and I think some Men only own it as a stale to ill Actions, is so very absurd, that since the great Director of Providence has promis'd us, *that he will laugh such Men to scorn and have 'um in derision*, their fellow Creatures have a very authentick precedent to deal by their Arguments, as their Maker designs to do by their Persons. Can any one say, that *Jerusalem*, *Crete*, *Sardis*, *Pergamos*, and *Laodicea*, and many other Primitive States, were all under the same temporal Form, or in the same Circumstances? And yet they were all under the same Ecclesiastical Œconomy. 'Tis I know not how many Years since the *Conquest*, and who can tell in all that time what variety of Circumstances every Country Parish has pass'd through? And yet the Government of it is still in the Hands of a Constable: He maintain'd his Jurisdiction under

King John, and *William Rufus*: if it happens to be a dry Year, he still holds the Staff: neither was the great Storm able to shock him in his Chair; And if it fare thus with the State Officer, why must the Church's Deputy needs go down? The Sword of the Spirit will kill a Devil, as soon as the Constable's Club, and the Publick Prayers will bring a kind Season and fruitful Harvest, as soon as the Parish Votes: and therefore I see no reason, why the Vicar of *Bray* should not be Vicar of *Bray* still. Chap. IV.

P. I deny not, *Tim*, but that there should be Gospel Churches every were: but the Church being design'd not to prejudice the State, it ought to vary and change with the Form of the Secular Government.

T. And yet I cannot find, that the Apostle settled any other Form at *Corinth* and *Ephesus*, tho' they were under a Popular State, than at *Rome* where the Government was absolute: nay we are told, that he erected many of those Republican Cities into one Episcopal See, but seems to have shar'd the Jurisdiction at *Rome* jointly with St. *Peter*; Now why should we think this prejudicial to the State? The Law, we see, is incorporated with the Constitution, as well as the Gospel: and yet *Monarchy* still flourishes, tho' the Courts of *Westminster* are in a State of *Oligarchy*: and in equitable Cases tho' the Government be by *Queen*, *Lords* and *Commons*, yet the *Chancery* is in a *single Person*; If indeed Fleets and Armies, Taxes and Subsidies, were the inseperable Rights of the Miter, something might be urg'd: but the Church, however call'd Militant,

tant, were it not for the Favour of the State, has not wherewithal to ſcare Crows off the Glebe-Land, or to thunder out an Anathema of Bell and Whip, againſt the Pariſh Boys, that play in the Chancel.

P. You ſee however, that moſt Nations prefer one Form of Church Government to another: otherwiſe they might be prejudic'd againſt Religion: and therefore the *Reformers* in ſome Places very wiſely laid aſide Epiſcopacy, ſince if they had kept up that Form, People would have ſaid they only remov'd the Biſhops, to get into their Places.

T. Look ye, *Phil*, if once you humour People, they'll be always craving: if you give 'um their choice of the ſecular Form, they'll make what Laws they pleaſe: ſo if you give 'um their choice of the Eccleſiaſtical, they'll make what Goſpel they pleaſe: and as you obſerve, all Folks have not the ſame fancy for Church Government, ſo neither have they the ſame fancy for Religion: queſtionleſs that Notion of our Church, touching the Ceſſation of Miracles, and a Prohibition of Commerce with Heaven, would be ſcrupled by Juglers and Aſtrologers: nor would the Doctrine, of the Body's being the Soul at the laſt Day, reliſh very well with a *Muſſulman*, and he muſt needs be much prejudic'd againſt being refin'd and ſpiritualiz'd, when he had ſuch a lovely Proſpect before him of Fool's Paradiſe; Now for the Eaſe of the Subject in this Matter, let that glorious *Iſrael* ſtate revive again, *when every one did that which was right in his own Eyes*, if this you think will heal all our Breaches, and unite our Diviſions; for if

pular Prejudices are of any force, and Men were to chuſe as they lik'd: I am horribly afraid ſome Folks would have very little regard to three Parts of the *Statute-Book*, neither would they be over much obedient to the Duties on *Malt*, *Mum*, and *Cyder*. Chap. IV.

P. If Primitive Example be of any force with thee in this Caſe, *Tim*, thou may'ſt learn how our Saviour, notwithſtanding any immutable Form comply'd with the *Jewiſh* Model, and Churches were form'd after the Manner of the Synagogue, on purpoſe to oblige the *Jews* to come in.

T. Well, *Phil*, take your Obſervation to your ſelf, and let me have mine: for ſay I, our Saviour's communicating with the *Jewiſh* Church could be no prejudice to the Chriſtian Form, ſince that was not erected till after his *Paſſion*: Beſides, this great condeſcenſion to the *Jewiſh* Church, notwithſtanding 'twas miſerably corrupted, only becauſe 'twas ſtill the eſtabliſh'd Church, that is, eſtabliſh'd by God, and had in it the legal Succeſſion from *Moſes*, became in after-times a Reaſon, why Men ſhould adhere to the Chriſtian Church, for the ſake of the ſame Succeſſion, tho' it might not be exactly reform'd after the Primitive Pattern; But for you to ſuppoſe, that upon our Saviour's Aſcent, his Apoſtles form'd the Chriſtian Church by the *Jewiſh* Model, is to ſuppoſe that they inſtituted *Biſhop*, *Prieſt*, and *Deacon*, as the ſubſtance of the *Jewiſh High-Prieſt*, *Prieſt*, and *Levite*: which is what we'd be at exactly; Or elſe you muſt ſuppoſe, that the *High-Prieſt* continu'd ſtill Head of the Church, whereas he ſeems to be no more than only a

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l Magiſtrate there being viſible Marks in
pture of St. *James*'s exerciſing Epiſcopal
ſdiction even in *Jeruſalem*, the Capital of
r Nation; Or if you ſuppoſe, that the
iſtian Churches and their Governours exer-
cis'd as much Power then, as the *Jewiſh*, this will exalt the Hierarchy to a higher pitch than any of us pretend to; But if laſtly you ſuppoſe ne that the Chriſtians did in ſome in tters, as in forbidding things ſtra , comply with the *Jews*: tho' an Inſtance o gour be no precedent for one of Relaxation, yet doubtleſs there was more regard to be d to the Hardneſs of Men's Hearts, eſpe lly ſuch hard ones as the *Jews* were famou for, in the Infancy of the Church, than after its Propagation, and Eſtabliſhment: ſurely we muſt not peddle with the Goſpel, and higgle for Religion: if they who have embrac'd Chriſtianity, and own'd its Title, kick againſt our Authority, we may not only ſhake the Duſt off our Heels againſt them, but alſo very juſtly return the Complement in kind.

P. If the Epiſcopal Form be abſolutely neceſſary, 'tis plain in ſome Caſes the beſt of Men muſt be Infidels: for ſuppoſe a Company of Lay-Chriſtians caſt on a Land far from any Chriſtian Country: will you ſay of ſuch, that they are no Church becauſe they want Epiſcopacy?

T. In ſuch a Caſe, *Phil*, where a Company are caſt upon an unknown Iſland, * ſeveral things may be allow'd of, that are otherwiſe abominable: If no other Food can be found, it has been thought juſtifiable to dra

* *A Prince that in a Foreſt rides aſtray, &c. See* the Art of Cookery.

and eat one another: But will any Man, that lives within a Days Journey of a Flock of Sheep, urge this for the Excellency of human Flesh, in Opposition to Butcher's Meat? The Sacrifices of the Law, and Services of the Temple, are as peremptorily enjoyn'd the Jews, as any the Moral Duties of Religion: yet questionless, in the Captivity, it could not be expected, they should go up to *Jerusalem*, or frequent the *Tabernacle*, when they could not come at it; But upon their Enlargement, this was no Argument against their rebuilding that *Temple*, which if not of absolute necessity, 'twas stark Folly not to have laid out their Money on a good Fleet of Ships, or a handsome Present to *Cyrus*; For what says *Sancho? Every Man must do as he can do:* the *Thief* on the *Cross* was certainly sav'd, tho' a *Scoundrel*, without Bishops, Baptism, Confirmation, or even Purity of Life, but by Faith only: and yet will this serve to confute *the whole Duty of Man?* And therefore for the Improvement of your Case, I'll suppose when all those *Lay-Adventurers* are cast away, that part of the Wreck shall swim to shore, and be taken up by some learned *Heathen*, that understands Greek: and among the rest of the Rubbish, he shall light upon a Piece of a torn Testament, I'll say the *Fourteenth Chapter* of St. *John:* If such a one upon perusing such a Fragment, shall be induc'd thereupon to believe in the *Person* there treated of, doubtless he is a good *Christian*, and such a Faith with Moral Honesty shall save him: But will this be a Reason for suppressing *Matthew*, *Mark*, and *Luke?* They who can only get Faith and Works,

Chap. IV. Works, must stick to them: and if they can besides come at a Church, a Parson, and a Bishop, let 'um be sure to have them too: and truly now the World is tolerably open to Commerce, they who can compass that World for a Cargo of *Tobacco*, might very easily, one would think, stuff a little *Episcopacy* into the *Bill* of *Lading*: for I don't find there's any great Duty upon that sort of Goods at the *Ports*; But for those, who live nearer and understand the Price of the Commodity much better, if they would send us a Cargo of Classicks, and take a Bishop or two by way of exchange, I fancy we should be both the better for the Bargain.

P. If the purest Faith and Doctrine can't make a Church, without a certain set of Ecclesiasticks: this would be the same as to say, that the wholsomest Food will not nourish, unless dress't by a particular Cook, made and appointed with such and such Formalities.

T. Mayhap so: and yet this Similitude was as good in *Moses*'s time, as it is now: tho' if an ordinary Butcher had dress't a Lamb in those days never so nicely, unless he had been ordain'd with such and such Formalities, he would have sooner made a Pye on't than a Passover; Nay even in this degenerate Age, 'tis possible a Man may make a good wholsome Meal at a *Barber-Surgeons*, and perhaps dine with a *Brewer*, and not be poison'd: yet he that would have the best in its kind, as you know all Christians must endeavour after Perfection, will to the *Rummer* or *Pontacks*, where the Scullion is *licens'd*, and the Cook in *Commission*.

P.

P. But, *Tim*, the end of the Ministry is the good of the Church: and the People having a Right to judge, whether their Ministers preach agreeably to the Word of God or no, must consequently have a right to chuse only those who do, and displace 'um if they do not. Chap. IV.

T. That is, the Minister cannot preach till appointed by the People, and yet he must preach before they appoint him, that they may know whom to chuse: which agrees very well with that known Aphorism, *To morrow I found Six-pence, and yesterday I'll spend him*; Besides, is not the end of the Law, as well as of the Gospel, the good of the People? and has not a Jury the Power to judge of what they hear from the Bench, whether it be Law or no? that is, supposing they understand it as well, and will it by any means follow from hence, that they can constitute a *Chief Justice*, or remove a *Lord Keeper?*

P. Why do the Clergy, *Tim*, rail at the Papists for making the validity of the Sacrament depend on the Priest as an Usurpation on Mankind? Since their making the Sacrament depend on its being administer'd by a particular Set of Ecclesiasticks, must needs have the same Effects.

T. Not quite so bad, *Phil*, the first you know makes the People's Salvation depend intirely on the Priest's inside, which they can't see: but they may observe the quickness of a *Jesuit*'s Fingers, a little more narrowly than those of a *Dutch* Jugler.

P. If

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P. If the Laity may visit the Sick, and reconcile differences, this can be no pretence for Jurisdiction.

T. And yet tho' an honest Neighbour may make up a temporal quarrel, and perhaps make a visit round the Parish, and belike invite 'um all to his House: it shall not presently follow, that he is in Commission of *Assize*, can call a *Court Leet*, or give Damages in an Action of *Trespass*.

P. And therefore you see the only Reason for erecting such and such Offices, is Order and Decency, which can be no Pretence for any Right to Church-Government.

T. That's strange indeed: for *Order* and *Decency* are as much requir'd by Scripture for the Regulation of the Church, as Chastity and Temperance for the Regulation of the Man.

P. Nay, *Tim*, if you talk of Scripture, I can prove from thence, that according to the Primitive Custom, all Ecclesiastical Offices were in Common among the People.

T. Then it seems you can prove that there is an *immutable Form*, notwithstanding you hold the contrary: for *Democracy* is a Form: and if that can be found in Scripture, it must not be chang'd unless you can change the Scripture; but let the Form and the Substance e'en gang together for good Company, for what's all this to us? You are of Opinion that the Ecclesiastical Form should be the same in every Place with the Civil: Now since with us here in the *English* Church, Episcopacy certainly answers to Monarchy in the State, we

hope you'll be graciously pleas'd to let 'um go on quietly together. Chap. IV.

P. But what say'st thou to the general Topick, dost thou admit my proofs?

T. A Text of Scripture, *Phil*, is a Creature made up of *Nouns*, *Pronouns*, *and Participles*, just like the Records of the *Tower*, and of as good Authority: and yet even they, notwithstanding the great advantages of Tautology and Circumlocution, are subject to as many temptations, and as liable to be drawn aside as any other Oracles whatever; Besides, a Text is a *Dead Letter*: there it lyes, and can't help it self: you may take it out of the Bible, clap it into a Treatise of the *Gout*, or if you please into a System of *Geography*, and turn and tiff it about as you think fit: so that unless you'll permit it to call to its Neighbours for help, and to give inn Certificates from its old Acquaintance, of its Behaviour and Credit, and good peaceable Disposition, I can't see by any means how it can escape safe out of your Clutches.

P. With all my Heart, I'll allow it that Privilege: and now, *Tim*, is it not plain from Scripture, that *the Brethren preach'd the word and fulfill'd the Ministry?*

T. Ay, but then the Rule in such Cases is, that if we can prove, as I fancy we can, that *no one is to* preach, *unless he be sent:* that *all are not Pastors*, but such as are thereto appointed, *&c:* If after this it be said, the Brethren preach'd, or the Brethren fulfill'd the Ministry, the former Texts require it should be understood only of such Brethren, as are legally ordain'd for that purpose: Suppose I read

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read of things memorable in an *Almanack*, and I find *Anno* ——— the *English* beat the *French* at *Cressy* or *Blenheim:* can I imagine from thence, that all the People of *England*, to a Man, were concern'd in that Fight, or that they can make War and Peace as they please? Must I not understand it of a certain Order of the People, call'd *Soldiers*, legally Commission'd thereto? For 'tis a horrid mistake of yours to think, that the Term, *Brethren*, in Scripture, always signifies the whole Mass of the Laity, since 'tis often set to signifie the Apostles and their Deputies, even in opposition to the People: of which I can give you Instances, twenty at least: Nay, it seldom signifies any other, when it runs thus emphatically, *The Brethren:* so that you are extremely out in your Pedigree, and must begin all again, for you are not so near a kin as you imagine.

[a] Acts 11. 29. Philem. 16. 1 Pet. 2. 17. Joh. 21. 23. Act. 15. 40. Act. 16. 2, and 40. Act. 18. 27. 1 Cor. 16. 11 and 12. Phil. 4. 21. 2 Thess. 2. 10. 3 Joh. 3. 10. Act. 7. 2. Act. 22. 1. Ja. 5. 10. 2 Cor. 8. 23, &c.

P. But then, *Tim*, 'tis said in the accounts of the Primitive Assemblies, *that all prophesy'd and preach'd, one by one:* and that *we are to exhort one another, even when assembled together*; and when the Church of *Jerusalem* was scatter'd abroad, 'tis said, *they that were scatter'd*, that is the whole Church, *preach'd the word:* and *Pseudo Ambrose* observes, that *all at first taught and baptiz'd.*

T. If you please, *Phil*, we'll scan this matter a little more nicely; For a long time after our Saviour's ascent, there was no written Word or Gospel: so that the whole Christian Religion lay in the *Traditions* of the Apostles and Disciples: and there being Law, nor any establish'd Church,

the Gospel was then no more but to publish and tell abroad what our Saviour had Suffer'd and Taught: which no doubt might very lawfully have been done by *Jews* and *Heathens*, as well as Apostles, if but by way of News and Intelligence: Nay, even after this, when the *Holy Ghost* began by the Apostles to form the first Rudiments of the Christian Church, a long time was spent in the *Oral* Publication of the Gospel, before any written Word came abroad: and it was a common way with the Apostles to ordain Preachers almost of all they converted: there being no great Gifts, but only those of Memory, requir'd to the Historical account of our Saviour's Life and Actions, except the Gift of Tongues and Miracles, which was infus'd by the *Holy Ghost* into those Converts, to gain 'um Credit in the World: Nay, for the better farthering this Work, and the increase of Preachers, the *Holy Ghost* ordain'd several well dispos'd Persons in far Countries, without the Apostles interposing: and many of these needed no other Miracle to testifie their Mission, than only bare preaching the Gospel: since how should they have learnt that Gospel but of God, which was not yet committed to writing, nor ever taught 'um by the Apostles? And therefore 'tis no wonder, to hear some of the Fathers talk of the whole Church's preaching, and baptizing, since all were constantly upon their Conversion ordain'd thereto, [illegible] before these great Assemblies of Pro[illegible] abroad to Propagate the Word, th[illegible] quently among themselves, bo[illegible] religious Worship, and also to [illegible]

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p. IV. settling and spreading the Church: and therefore no doubt they had many Meetings, wherein all were Preachers, and all Inspir'd, so that having equal Powers, no wonder if they all expected their turns of prophecying and giving their opinion: thus in the case you have instanc'd, tho' the Apostle, (as tis plain the Apostles regulated all these matters when the Church began to be establish'd) gives Orders, that in their Assemblies, *where their Prophets met, they might all prophecy by turns:* yet this can never include those who were not Prophets, nor ordain'd thereto: Prophecying in the Primitive Church, being the same with preaching in the Modern, except only that the first was extraordinary, and by Divine Inspiration;

Ver. 29. 30. Thus again, he orders, that no one *Interrupt the two or three appointed to speak, unless something be reveal'd to him:* Nay, when he gives an account of this Assembly, and calls it *the Meeting of the whole Church:* he adds, *that when they come together, every one of 'um hath a Revelation:* Nay, he supposes *none unskilful or unlearned among 'um*, and that they have all *the Gift of Tongues:* and tho' he injoins 'um *to interpret*, yet 'tis because *the unlearned and ignorant coming in to their Assemblies, would otherwise think 'um Mad:* So that by all these accounts it appears, that the Apostle speaks there of an Assembly of inspir'd Prophets and Persons legally ordain'd to the Ministry, without any mixture of the Laity; Now this Method is still observ'd in Cathedrals, where all preach in their turns, that is, either Personally or by Proxy: only

Ver. 23.

the *Mayor and Aldermen* are desir'd t

their Places: and the ſame would be the Caſe in every Pariſh throughout *England*, could they afford to pay for the ſame variety of Parſons; if indeed Miracles are not ceas'd, if a *Yorkſhire Freſhman* can ſpeak *Greek*, or a *Welſh Servitor* read *Hebrew*: we'll excuſe 'um a Journey to the Biſhop: otherwiſe the old way of Succeſſion muſt ſerve our turns: ſince the very Nature of the Church conſider'd barely as a *Society*, and the very Nature of the Goſpel as a *written word*, deſign'd for all Nations and Languages, require, that one ſhould have particular *Governors*, and the other *Interpreters*. Chap. IV.

P. But by the Primitive Form, if any one taught falſe Doctrine, he would have been oppos'd by the whole Congregation: whereas now the Laity are forbid to ſpeak in the Congregation, the Clergy may impoſe what ſelfiſh Doctrines they pleaſe.

T. Quite otherwiſe, *Phil*: for tho' 'tis an old ſaying, *that the Spirits of the Prophets are only ſubject to the Prophets*: and the Spirits of ſome Politicians ſeem to plead the ſame Privilege: yet if a Man has never ſo good a knack at *qualifying* Divinity, tho' in the Church perhaps he ſhall be heard very patiently, when he comes out on't, according as he was, *High* or *Low*, *Hot* or *Cold*, ſo ſhall his Reward be, and he ſhall be deliver'd over to the *Tormentors* in *Quarto* and *Octavo*.

P. Then, *Tim*, as to Baptiſm: 'tis plain *Peter* does not baptize *Cornelius* and his Houſhold, but only commands it: which muſt be done by Laymen, for the Text ſays, *There were* Act. x. 48. Ver. 23.

Chap. IV. *were none with him, but certain Brethren from* Joppa.

T. But what if they were *Spiritual Brethren*, Phil? Besides, to me the Text seems to say (for I read it with Spectacles) *that* Peter *went away with them*, that is, with some Folks or other, no matter who: and besides these Folks, *certain Brethren from* Joppa *accompany'd him*; who *they* were that accompany'd him besides *the Brethren*, I know not: *Men* I believe they were: so that he had other Company besides the Brethren: whereas if that be the Name of the whole Mass of the People, I wonder, they should not all have been comprehended under the same Title.

P. But did not *Philip*, who was only a Deacon, Baptize? And was not *Paul* himself baptiz'd by *Ananias* a Layman? [a]

Act. viii. 12.

Act. ix. 19.

T. The Text says, that *the* Samaritans, *believing* Philip, *were baptiz'd*, *Men and Women*: but not a word who did it: tho' if *Philip* had don't, there had been no great mistake in the matter, for by the *Miracles and Signs that he wrought*, [a] his Commission appears to be extraordinary: and for this very Reason, tho' he was but a *Deacon* before, he is afterwards call'd *an Evangelist*, for some understand both those places of the same Person: neither does the next *Chapter* say that *Paul* was baptized by *Ananias*, but only, *that he was baptiz'd*: tho' if he too had done it, yet being a Disciple, [b] he had that Power and Privilege even by our Saviour's Appointment: the Disciples, of which number were the 70, being by Men learn'd this way, accounted the same with Priests; and therefore when

[a] Ver. 6.

[b] Ver. 14.

suppose 'twas too hard a Day's Work for the *Apostles* to baptize the 3000 converted to the Church, I think if they had staid till the Morrow it had been no great matter: or if they were in haste, the Disciples might have supply'd their places as well: for no one pretends to say, that Baptism was inseparable from the *Apostolick* or *Episcopal* Order, since the *Apostle* says, *Christ did not send him to baptize, but to preach the Gospel:* not that Christ did positively order him and the other *Apostles* not to baptize: but he means, that Baptism was but one of the lowest Powers in his Commission, and not so excellent as Preaching; so that to say the Apostles did not Baptize, is false, for one of 'um baptiz'd *Stephanus* and *Gaius:* and to say, that therefore any one might Baptize as well as they, and without their Commission, is to make our Saviour's last Words trifling and insignificant, since it needed not then to have been included in their Commission. Chap. IV.

P. If it be as you say, how came the Church to allow even the Baptism of Boys and Women?

T. Because their allowance is requisite to make it valid, for the Right is in them: but who is he, that says, *have ye not read how* David *eat the Shew Bread*, and yet adds immediately after, *that 'tis lawful for the Priest alone to eat it?* Nay, do not you your self own, that the Right and Power of Preaching is deny'd the Female Sex? And yet Cases might be invented, where that *Canon* must fail, tho' you acknowledge it to be Apostolical.

Chap. IV.

P. What are those, *Tim?*

T. Why, I'll suppose all those *Adventurers* you talk'd of just now, that were cast upon an unknown Island, to be Women: must they presently be unchurched for want of a *Fryar?* Or do you hold with those that say they have no Souls, and so need only mind their Knitting? Or what think you of the *Amazons?* There are those more late than *Thalestris*, mention'd by *Historians:* must they want Religion all the Year round till the Honey-Moon comes, and never get any good Doctrine but in losing their Maidenheads? Or what think you of *Æthiopia*, where the *Eunuch* you are so fond of, first planted the Gospel? Historians, even your own *Grotius*, say, the Government there was entirely *Female*, exclusive of the Male: so that if your Maxims hold, that the *Ecclesiastical* Form must follow the Civil, the Church and State in that Country, must have been both under a *Petticoat*.

P. I allow of no unalterable Form, *Tim:* you see the *Greek Church permits* the *Turk* to make and depose their Bishops, and the *Reform'd* in *France* were content with *Presbytery*, when they could get no other sort of Church Government.

T. Nay, where it can't be had, *God* must lose his Right as well as the *Queen:* if the *Greeks* and *Hugonots* could not get Bishops, what's that to us? Ours are safe and sound, God be thanked, and a Fig for the *Sultan* and *Sophy*—— but now can you really say that the Bishops, such as the *Sultan* sends to *Gr*[illegible] are certainly ordain'd by the *Mufti?* Or a

the Grand Seignior, give 'um their Orders, as well as their Presentations; And does the *Turk* assume this Power, or do the *Greeks*, as you term it, only *permit* and tolerate this Practice? I'm afraid one should find, upon enquiry, if 'twere worth while, that they can no more help being Slaves to the *Turk*, than you can being in Bondage to Nonsense: prithee, *Phil*, let Dr. *Woodroff* alone: he knows how to make Religion *foolishness* to the *Greeks* without your Assistance. Chap. IV.

P. There may be some cases, *Tim*, that take off all obligation to Church Communion: as suppose one by reading the *Bible* is converted in a *Heathen* Country: or say, an Embassador should turn *Christian*, and after that be recall'd, which seems to be the Case of the *Æthiopian Eunuch*: in such Circumstances, no one is oblig'd by the Gospel to quit Friends, Country, or Interest, in order to join himself with any Church.

T. I'll be sworn, *Phil*, that you are as shrewd a Casuist as ever took Text in Hand: *Sanderson*'s but a *Simpleton* to you: there are some cases that he has left doubtful, whereas you go thro' stitch, and nothing but demonstration will down with you: for least any scrupulous *Christians* in after Ages should think themselves oblig'd to spend most part of the *Sunday* in searching after a Church in a Heathen Country, that is, supposing they are not throughly satisfy'd but there may drop one out of the Clouds, or if not a Church, yet at least a Chappel might come over upon Wheels, like that of *Loretto*, and plant it self somewhere upon the *Wast*, or at the upper end of the *Com-*

Chap. IV. *men:* so that they must be sure to beat the Hedges and look all the *Fallows* over carefully, and thereby deprive themselves of the Blessings and Enjoyments of a *Sunday's Dinner*: for the ease therefore of all such Consciences, you give out, and ram down for the Peace of Posterity, that where there is no Church, People are not oblig'd to go to it, neither can the *Parish Officers* demand 12 *d.* for such neglect, without Tantivy and Persecution: and truly when your Hand was in, I wonder you did not also prove, that they that can't spell, are excus'd from reading the Scriptures, and that he who has taken *Opium* is not oblig'd to *watch*: for had you only employ'd your time in such important Truths as these, there had been some satisfaction in reading your Labours: but immediately after such violent Demonstrations, to go and say, that we are not to forsake Relations, Friends, Country, and Employments, for the sake of Religion, meaning all this while the Christian Religion, without so much as quoting *Matth.* xix. 29, which stuck so hard in the Gizzards of the Ancients, and made 'um do such strange things, was methinks a little odd and ill contriv'd; for I can assure you such a Doctrine would have preserved St. *Matthew* in his place at the *Customs*, and been many a Dish of Fish in *Simon* and *Andrew*'s way: and if St. *Luke* had known it too, he would have kept his Profession, tho' he had parted with his Druggs, and never have wrought a Miracle, at least not upon the Sick and Diseas'd, without a good lusty Fee in the Fist for his pains.

P. What doſt thou think, *Tim*, where a Church profeſſes ſuch Doctrines as a Man in his Conſcience diſowns? ſurely thou wilt not let him Communicate with ſuch a Church. Chap. 16.

T. And yet if the Houſe of Lords Votes any thing that diſagrees, ſuppoſe with a Peer of the *Weſt*, or an Earl of the *Highlands*, he gives in his Reaſons, declares his own Sentiments, enters his *Proteſt*, and for all that comes the next Day again: and ſo if at a Pariſh Meeting any thing be agreed upon, not altogether ſo Juſt or Honeſt as might be wiſht perhaps, the Tythingman, who it may be knows better things, does not immediately pack up with his Wife and Children, ſell off his Stock, throw up his *Leaſe*, and away to ſome more conſcionable Pariſh, where there is neither *Maypole* nor *Male-Adminiſtration*.

P. Now *Grotius* differs from thee in this, *Tim*: for he would have Chriſtians abſtain from Communion, where 'tis made the Badge of a Party, and a Mark to diſtinguiſh us from other Chriſtians as good as our ſelves, (which ſhows he was for *Occaſional Conformity*) if by abſtaining a Man may be more upon the Neutral, and have more opportunities of doing good on both ſides, which was the Caſe of St. *Chryſoſtome*.

T. Why truly, *Phil*, this is a notable expedient, for he that abſtains from the Sacrament for fear of being thought of a Party, may as well abſtain from't for fear of being thought a Chriſtian, for Chriſtianity is a Party as well as Paganiſm, or Mahometiſm; and by the ſame Rule the firſt Chriſtians ought to have hated one another heartily, for fear, if

Chap. IV. they had lov'd one another as heartily, Folks would have found out by that Mark, that they were Christ's Disciples and of his Party: and *Grotius* might have such a fancy as this, and not hold *Occasional Communion* for all that, for Occasional Communion does not consist in abstaining from the Sacrament, but in taking it, and that on purpose to be thought of the Party that get by't; As for St. *Chrysostome*, you have complain'd of him already as an High-flyer, and now to be reveng'd of him, you are resolv'd he shall be no Christian: for tho' he might by his Conduct carry himself candidly and moderately towards all sides, and not seemingly countenance either, which in some cases is very proper, especially in a Judge and a Bishop, yet to suppose that for the very same Reason he left the Church, and the Lord's Supper, is to suppose him to have less Sense than a Verger or Sexton; for 'tis one Reason of receiving the Sacrament and frequenting the Church, to let the World see our Party and our Profession: and he therefore that abstains from it for that very reason, might as well get drunk a *Sundays*, for fear of being thought a *Sabbatarian*, and now and then take a heat in *Drury-Lane*, least People should imagine that he's of the Sect of the *Moralists*, or of *Eustachius*'s Party, *or in the Interest of Rabbi* Moses.

P. But would you oblige Christians to Communicate with those Churches, that encourage loose Living or Immorality, that preach up Persecution, Hatred and Animosity? and where a Man may be a very good Church-man without being a Christian.

T. How so? Is there a *Canon* for Cursing, or does the Church hold simple Fornication to be lawful? May not the Laws for Reformation go forward, and yet the Building at *Paul*'s be never the backwarder? Nay, is it not plain, that our Divisions and Parties are the main hindrance to the due Execution of those Laws? and yet I hope you remember what was lately said of the *Jewish* Church, how our Saviour communicated with them, and taught his Disciples to do so too, for this reason, because their Priests sat in *Moses*'s Chair, and had the legal Succession amongst 'um; and yet the *Jewish* Priests were as arrant *Tories* and *High-flyers* as any of the Moderns: they did not only teach for Doctrines the Traditions of Men, were ravennous, tyrannical, hypocritical, Sons of *Satan*, a Generation of Vipers, but ridicul'd their Messiah himself to the highest degree, even before he came, and us'd him as bad upon his arrival: In their Prophetick accounts of him, they represent him as an Impostor and Tyrant, that he should be slain for his own many Usurpations and Cruelties: sometimes they make him fight against himself under the different Names of *Messiah Ben David*, and *Ben Joseph*: sometimes they call'd him *Armillus*, which they interpret of *Romulus* and Antichrist; in short, he who reads their Legends of him in *Buxtorf*'s *Lex. Talmud.* would think he were in the Second Part of *Don Quixot*, or the Visions of *Quevedo*; Thus too when he was come, they laugh'd at his Doctrines, persecuted his Followers, and crucify'd his Person; they were a Nation renown'd for Factions and Divisions among their Leaders, some of which, the *Sad-*

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ducees,

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ducees, were downright Atheists, and yet these had often the sole management and Presidency of the *Sanhedrim*, the great sticklers in that Court being notorious Conjurers and Magicians: Nay, Magick was one of the Qualifications for that place: [d] and among the 24 penal Cases in the *Jerusalem Talmud*, which are the Causes of Excommunication, there are at least half relating wholly to the increase of the Tyranny and Usurpation of the Priests: such as *speaking against a* Rabbi, *even after his Death: not appearing to an Ecclesiastical Summons: Contemning a Minister or his Doctrine:* yet for these Causes the poor Criminal, and all his Inheritance, Body and Soul, were to be curs'd from the Mouth of *Addirion*, *Athariell*, *Sandalphan*, *Hadrainell*, *Ansisinel*, *Pathiell*, *Seraphiel*, *Saganfaell*, *Zozabib*, *Havabib*, and from the Mouth of the 70 *Names* of the Great *King*, and *Tzorlab* his *Chancellor*, as *Buxtorf* reports the Sentence from a *Hebrew Manuscript*, as good as any in *Selden:* tho' notwithstanding all this, so very terrible were these Names to our Saviour and his Apostles, who doubtless understood 'um much better than we can pretend to, that they took all imaginable care to keep in with these *High-flying Dons*, and went to their Church constantly; now I'll engage ours is not half so bad as this, I'm sure your *Grotius* himself had better thoughts of it than so: shew me that *Paritor* that has so many Terrors about him as are here upon Record: 'tis true, we have many amongst us that do not as they should do, and we would fain see that Congregation that has not as many in proportion: but a disorderly Brother

[d] *See* Dine Mammoneth.

Brother is a Brother ſtill, whereas I could tell you, that thoſe without are Dogs and Sorcerers, but I know you'd call me High-flyer for't: and yet if one St. *John* won't do, I can tell you of another St. *John* that perhaps may, and he ſays, *That if a Man eats and drinks diſorderly, he endangers his Health and his Body, but he that won't eat at all, need not be told what will become of him:* And after the ſame manner he that lives looſely and ſinfully, tho' in the Communion of the Church, lives within reach of Phyſick, and may perhaps mend in time: but he that entirely quits the Church, throws his Surgeon over-board: and ſuch a one muſt be either invulnerable in his Body, or impenetrable in his Scull, ſince there is no defence again Sin, Green-Wounds, and Gunpowder. Chap. IV.

P. And yet every wiſe Phyſician ſhould vary his Medicines according to the Temper of his Patient: This methinks ſhould be an Argument for the Mutability of Human Polity; 'tis abſurd that *Ends* ſhould yield to *Means*, and the *Brazen Serpent* when of Uſe to cure Diſtempers, was juſtly reverenc'd by the People: but when abus'd to Superſtition, was broken down and ſtamp'd to Powder.

T. Look ye, *Phil*, for you to leave the varying and altering of Medicines to the Will and Judgment of the Phyſician, is *Tantivy*, *Tory and High-flying*, it will bring in *Popery* and *Tyranny* ding dong: but, the Caſe before us is, whether the Patient, that is, ſuppoſing he is not troubled with the *Megrims* or *Simples* may vary his Phyſician as he pleaſes, and if he thinks fit may take a Farrier or Mountebank,

Chap. IV. bank, or by way of Deputy a *Scaramouch* and *Merry Andrew*; As to your instancing the *Brazen Serpent*, 'tis plain from the College, that he was licenc'd, and besides that Physician in ordinary, but 'twas only for Cronical Distempers, and his Drugs were all dated; so that when his Date was out, 'twas time to put him down because he presum'd too much upon his Parts, and undertook to cure Consciences as well as sore Legs: But what's all this to my *Lord Archbishop* of *Canterbury*? Is his Commission out of Date? Or are his Priests as useless as the *Israelitish* Idols? Or do we adore as well as reverence them? For my part, I see neither Sense nor Modesty in the Argument: there's not one bit of the *Serpent* in't, but of the *Brass* in abundance.

P. Wilt thou be convinc'd, *Tim*, by the Royal Proceedings in this Case? You see the *Queen*, tho' she is for Episcopacy in *England*, yet maintains Presbytery in *Scotland*: not that she thinks Episcopacy repugnant to the Word of God, as the Law for suppressing it, made by her *Grandfather*, declares.

T. And yet Episcopacy should have been declar'd repugnant to the Word of God, if what you say be true, that is, if the Word of God, as you expound it, be for a Democratical Form: and therefore whatever condescending Expressions from the Throne you may possibly try to pervert, whatever be the extent of her Majesty's Mercy and Moderation, sure we *are*, That she has promis'd *her* Favour and Encouragement to that Church only which you villifie: and truly after the Promises of God and the Queen, so abundantly confirm'd to us,

must be reckon'd a very scandalous Diffidence, to doubt any longer of our security; If you'll draw the Parallel between *North* and *South Britain*, and undertake to compare Episcopacy with Presbytery, pray make good your Comparison, and allow us the same Barriers to our Form as they have for theirs: but by denying us any human Security you seem tacitly to refer us to what you are thereby oblig'd to acknowledge, the Goodness of our Cause.

P. But I need not instance in the Conduct of the wisest of human Governments, since God himself, when he acted as King of the *Jews*, chose the same *Method*.

T. 'Tis well we are come to tryal, *Phil*, the *Jews* have been in waiting a long time, and, but that they are us'd to't, would perhaps take it ill at your Hands: you threatned 'um in your *Introduction*, and now are to make good your Charge: and that we mayn't proceed in a huddle, 'twill be convenient to let you know what is expected from you: we had there you remember a little Chat together about the rise of Secular Government, and you were of Opinion, that all Power was in the People: that they made their Sovereigns by Contract, and that 'twas their Privilege to judge and depose them, and that no Laws were valid but by their Consent: and this, you undertook to prove, was the rise of the *Jewish* Œconomy.

P. And does it not appear from *Exod.* xix. and *Deut.* v. that God propos'd himself as King to that People, and ask'd their assent, and thereupon the *Horeb* Contract was form'd?

T. But

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T. All this is against you, for the very same Ceremony is us'd at the Inauguration of the most absolute Monarchs; But the Question is, whether this were a free Election, or no: Now to me there are several Reasons, why it should not: For *First*, It is to be observ'd that in order to make a free Election, the Persons that are to chuse, are to be entirely free from all manner of Obligation to the Candidates: suppose a *Squire* takes a Majority of *Burgesses* into a Room, and there locks 'um in, so that they depend entirely upon him for Victuals and Drink, and thereupon he desires their Votes: the Committee must be very well affected indeed, that would Vote this a *due Election*; Now he that shall lead a Body of *Freeholders* into a Wilderness, where no Body can come at any Ven'son but himself, has 'um under the very same Cheque, and may set up when he pleases; Besides, I really think, the *noble Person* chosen at *Horeb*, had some small matter of Authority over the *Jews*, even before they came to Mount *Sinai*.

P. How does that appear, *Tim?*

T. Only from his own *Memoirs*: for he says, *That he brought 'um up out of* Egypt, *rescued 'um from* Pharaoh, *and* fought their Battles: Which shows, that he had an Interest in 'um, long before the *Horeb* Contract, nay even before they left *Egypt*.

P. What, before most of 'um were born?

T. Ay, before they were born: For we find in *Genesis*, their King entering into Covenant with Father *Abraham*, that he would *make of him a mighty Nation*: And Commenta[illegible]

These were the very People: And [illegible]

by his Power and Might, bring 'um out of Slavery into the Land of *Canaan:* Now if he brought, they must lead or drive, and be under his Command: so that 'tis plain he had a Right to the Government even before the *Horeb* Contract. Chap. IV.

P. Why then was the Proposal made?

T. Because then was the Meeting of the *Parliament*, and then was their King resolved to make 'um some very favourable Grants and Allowances; Now if this had been a free Election the Day ought to have been proclaim'd, and the Candidates summon'd: whereas here was no mention of an Opposition, neither do I think a *Freeholder* would have been heard tho' he had propos'd *Ashteroth*, *Rempham* or *Baalpeor:* nay 'tis plain that some of the Heirs and Executors of these Folks did afterwards set up that sort of *Pretenders*, nay they had a Majority too, and tho' you are very positive that every Government takes its Sanction from the Consent of the Majority of the present Age, yet I'll assure you in those *Tory* times 'twas counted *Idolatry*, and *Witchcraft* into the Bargain.

P. But then what hast thou to say to the Laws, that were then agreed upon?

T. Why even those now, in my small Judgment, look a little too much like absolute Monarchy: For 'tis plain from the *Chapter* you cited, that the People upon the very first Motion, before any Committee was settled, or Bill offer'd, agree to whatever their King should be pleas'd to do with them; and indeed they did very well, for there are some things

Chap. IV. things in that Contract, which they cannot pretend to have the least Interest in.

P. What are those, *Tim?*

T. Why, Sir, in one part of the Contract, the People do agree to beat the *Hivite*, *Perizite*, *Amonite*, and I know not how many more Folks besides: and yet they say that those People were *stronger and mightier than themselves:* now they must be strange Fellows indeed to agree for certain to do a Thing, which in all probability they must fail of performing; and if they depended on their Leader, still he must fight with their force, and that's just the same Thing: but if he had any other Power besides that, 'tis plain he had more than they gave him, and that could never be by Election.

P. But you read how their Magistrates were chosen by the People.

T. Ay I read so in your worthy Memoirs perhaps, but not in the Bible: *Moses* 'tis plain was appointed over the People even before the *Horeb* Contract, and by him were the Captains of Thousands, Hundreds, Fiftys, and Tens, constantly approv'd, tho' presented by the People; *Aaron* and the Priests were made by their King, and so were both the Successors, Civil and Ecclesiastical: and does not his Majesty over and over again declare, that he had chosen the Children of *Israel* to be *his peculiar People of all the Nations under Heaven?* Which must needs sound very strange in a free State, since they had chosen him, and not he them, as this High-flying Clause would insinuate.

P. But 'tis plain when the People desir'd a King, God resign'd the Government, and comply'd with those Votes. Chap. IV.

T. And then you know by your Rule, they should have proceeded to a new Election: but instead of that, the old Governor, first protesting against their Proceedings which sufficiently shews 'um to be unlawful, chuses their King for them, interrupts the Successions as he pleases, and every one of their Monarchs is expresly call'd *his anointed:* and 'tis this very Term and System that the *Tories* insist upon at this very Day.

P. But then in the Penal Laws there is great regard had to the Suffrages of the People.

T. Ay, they are the Hangmen, they are to stone and to crucifie: but the Judgment is so far from being by a Jury and *per pares*, or after a popular way, that the *dernier resort* is still left to the Judgment of their King and Priests, as supreme and absolute.

P. And in some of their Holy Rites the People are chiefly concern'd, as in the Passover and Excommunication.

T. Now my Author says, notwithstanding *Selden*'s Testimony, that the killing the Passover was wholly the Right of the Priests, as appears, from an Order of *Josiah*'s: [a] and this, 'tis there said, was according to the Command of *Moses*; And for Excommunication, that's so often call'd the *Anathema* or *Curse of God*, that we need say no more to prove that it must be pronounc'd by him or his Deputy: and to suppose any of the People or even the whole Congregation could meddle in that Judgment, which was lodg'd on *Aaron's*

[a] 2 Chron. xxxv. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

Chap. IV. ron's Breast, or could presume on as much Authority in Ecclesiasticals as he, tho' it be plainly your Principle, *yet* 'twas also the Principle of *Corah* and his Crew, and for offering to publish it he had his Mouth stop'd with a Vengeance; Indeed nothing can be more ridiculous than to pretend that the *Jewish* Œconomy was form'd by popular Consent, and yet at another time to call all those *Tories* and *Ranters*, that would either in Civils or Ecclesiasticals, bear the least Similitude to the same Model.

P. But then what ha'st thou to say, *Tim*, to the Mutability of the *Jewish* System? Tho' God had often declar'd it should last for ever, 'tis plain he abolish'd it: and yet no Law in the World has a greater Character for Wisdom and Purity, than this, in the *Pentateuch* and *Psalms:* but then in the Prophets and in the New Testament 'tis represented quite otherwise, so that you see even Divine Wisdom is determin'd by Times and Circumstances.

T. Here now is a pack of Contradictions charg'd upon a Person that has no manner of hand in any such thing: whereas if one had the least regard for his Honour, he need only tumble over a few Notemongers and all's well again; For you must know the Contract, was made first to *Abraham*, and it consisted of two Parts, The first to his *Natural Sons*, The second to those that were *Heirs of his Faith:* and accordingly the Law was fram'd of two Parts as well as the Promise: The first concern'd only the Children of *Israel*, and Sons of *Abraham*, and consisted of Ceremonies and Types, which tho' at first very easie and

ſant, were by degrees improv'd into a ſlaviſh and burdenſome Bulk, by the Traditions of ſucceeding and more degenerate Ages; The ſecond Part conſiſted of Moral Duties, Eternal and Unalterable, and of Promiſes of a future *Meſſiah* for the Exerciſe of the Faith of all thoſe who were by that Virtue ally'd to *Abraham*; Now when the Scripture calls the Law a *Yoke*, a Burden, a mutable Form, an imperfect Syſtem, and ſuch as ſhould ſhortly be done away, 'tis always meant of the Firſt: but when it ſpeaks of it as *Wiſdom* and *Righteouſneſs*, a Law of *Life*, that it ſhould laſt for ever, and that it was fulfill'd in the Goſpel, there it is to be underſtood of the Laſt: ſo that the Mutability of that Form depends not on the accidents of Time and Fortune, for God is above them, and can either fit them to any Law or any Law to them as he ſees convenient, but it depends upon the difference of God's Promiſes to *Abraham*, and Man's own degeneracy, which, tho' it be your Caſe, is nothing at all to your purpoſe.

P. But you muſt know, *Tim*, that the *Jews* were under no Form of Government when God became their King, and *Moſes* only acted as his *Vice-Roy*: but Chriſt did not act as God's Vice-Roy under the Goſpel, but came as a private Perſon; whoſe Kingdom is not of this World: he gave Laws to all Mankind without depriving any of their Rights and Properties, and conſequently as he found the Eccleſiaſtical Powers, ſo he left them.

T. To ſee now the Juſtice of Things! You were juſt charging another with Contradictions, and now they are come home to your

Chap. IV. own Door; *The* Jews, say you, *were under no Form of Government when God undertook their State*, and yet I find in some old Authors that they were under *Pharaoh*, and I believe the Form of his Government is to be found in *Aristotle:* And then as to Ecclesiasticals 'tis as plain [a] that there were Priests in *Israel* even before the Law from *Sinai*, so that you have fail'd in both; If *Moses* acted as God's Vice-Roy, where was the Election of the People? And tho' you won't allow so great a Title as that to your Saviour, yet the Scripture, as good Authority as you to the full, gives him a much greater: Was he not greater than *Moses?* Was he not more than a Vice-Roy, a Son, and Heir of his Father's Glory, and God blessed for ever? Can you call a Person of the *Trinity* private? Or is he who comes with the Character of the Saviour of the World too little to be thought a publick Person? 'Tis true he once said *his Kingdom was not of this World:* But after his Resurrection, he assumes *all Power in Heaven and in Earth*, and that certainly is time enough for your confutation; Then, how came you to imagine that he could give Laws to the whole World, without taking upon him any earthly Authority? Or how could you say, that he left the Ecclesiastical Power every where as he found it? If so, why did you but just now argue the Mutability of the *Jewish* Law? And why does the Apostle enquire *for the Scribe and the Pharisee, and the disputer of this World?* (Don't be angry, for I'll assure you, *Phil*, you are not concern'd in the Summons) and why does he prove the Change of the Law from the Change

[a] Exod. xix. 22.

Change of Priesthood? If *Christ*, as you elsewhere seem to insinuate, instituted no new Rites, then 'tis evident the Church was not alter'd at a time when its Circumstances receiv'd the greatest Turn and Change imaginable: or if the Christian Priesthood must remain the same, or as that Apostle seems to argue, become more perfect than the *Levitical*, why is it not as glorious, as rich and as powerful? In short, *P.*, [illegible] is as great a stumbling Block to you as [illegible], and truly I may say of your [illegible] and your *Messiah*, that they are both to some, and 'tis to much the same purpose to [illegible]

P. And yet, *Tim.* if thou [illegible] tle Understanding from the [illegible] a Survey of the first Ages of Christ[illegible] thou'lt find that many [illegible] use, that are either wholly [illegible], or at least very much alter'd [illegible] the *Holy Kiss*, and the [illegible] Nay what Alterations [illegible] *Deacons* it self sustain'd? And does [illegible] from Scripture any difference [illegible] and *Presbyters*? Their Name and [illegible] are the same: Would not the Apostles have some way distinguish [illegible] ly necessary to have [illegible] in the Church?

T. The Question [illegible] about altering Ceremonies, [illegible] of Worship, as about [illegible] they are alter'd; [illegible] that the Gospel [illegible] of Behaviour to the [illegible] us how we should [illegible] but what

Chap. IV. Cloaths we ſhould wear, is to make an *Academy of Complements* of the Bible, and all its Apoſtles and Evangeliſts to be ſo many *Beaus* and *Dancing-Maſters*; but the governing Part of the Church, and its outward State is certainly of more Importance: and therefore care is taken to make the Apoſtolick Office everlaſting, and to limit it to no other bounds than thoſe of the whole World; now ſome Offices of the Church are exactly deſcrib'd and mark'd out with particular Notes of Diſtinction, whereby we may know them aſunder: and there are others of a mutable Nature, ſuch as are conſtituted by the Church according to its Circumſtances, and for the ſame Reaſon may be laid aſide again; How ridiculous would it look in a few Chriſtians, ſuppoſe 10 or 12, to appoint among themſelves, who ſhould look after the Poor or Viſit their Sick, or who ſhould be a *Dean*, an *Arch-deacon*, a *Prebendary*, or a *Chantor*, and ſo on, till they had more Offices than Men? And yet all this is decent and comly, where a Church is gotten into a conſiderable bulk, both of People and Power; Common Senſe would tell us this: and juſt thus would have been the Caſe had our Saviour been to have erected a Temporal Kingdom; but the ſame Reaſon will tell us that there are ſome Offices, which no Society can be without, and the Nature of Chriſtianity, as well as the expreſs Terms of the Goſpel, being utterly averſe to all Confuſion and Diſorder, it was neceſſary ſome ſhould bear Rule, and ſome ſhould be in Subjection; Politicians inform us that the Conſtitution of all free Eſtates naturally requires three ſorts of Powers,

Powers ſubordinate to each other, and 'tis happy for us, that the ſame is the Method in Religion, it being very eaſie to diſtinguiſh thoſe Orders that are deſign'd to be laſting and perpetual, and thoſe that are not ſo: To ſuppoſe the Apoſtle's Order was to ceaſe, is to vacate the expreſs Promiſe of our Saviour, or to confine it to any one Country, is equally injurious to the ſame Authority; Preachers, Prieſts, or Presbyters, muſt of neceſſity be ſubordinate to this, for all cannot Rule: and yet of equal continuance, becauſe preaching is neceſſary ſo long as there's a Sinner or Heretick left; Now theſe Two Orders are abſolutely requiſite to the firſt Conſtitution of the Church, and a Third was likewiſe requiſite upon the increaſe of Converts and Proſelytes, it being deſign'd as miniſterial to the other Two, ſince 'twas impoſſible they ſhould attend to all the Parts of governing and propagating the Church, without Help and Aſſiſtance; And here we muſt take notice, that none of theſe Orders loſe any thing of their firſt Inſtitution by ſuch acceſſions of Honour or Power, which acrue to them in the after happy Ages of the Church: to ſuppoſe this, is to ſuppoſe that the Chriſtian Church, as deſcrib'd moſt glorioſly in the *Prophets*, is not the ſame with that perſecuted Church in the *Revelations*; if therefore a Biſhop be made alſo a *Baron*, or a *Presbyter* a *Dean*, ſo long as the one retains the Power of ruling, and the other of preaching, they are ſtill Chriſtian and Orthodox; but as for Deacons, they being at firſt appointed as miniſterial to theſe two other Orders, are conſequently at their diſpo-

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Chap. IV. ſal, as to their Employ and Function: this is apparently manifeſt even in their firſt Inſtitutions, for tho' they ſeem wholly intended for the diſpenſation of Charity, yet even in the Apoſtle's time they were admitted to preach the Word; Beſides theſe, all other Orders or indeed more properly Offices and Degrees, alter and vary with the State of the Church, and the Diſcretion of its Governors: Thus the *Deaconeſs* whom you mention, could never be a ſettled Order of the Church, becauſe all Women are abſolutely forbid Church Power, but muſt chiefly conſiſt in Matters wholly Œconomical relating to the Family Affairs of the Apoſtles: you might as well call the *Midwives* an Eccleſiaſtical Order at this very Day, becauſe they are to be licenc'd and approv'd by the ſame Authority; But then ſay you, *There is no difference made by the Apoſtles between Biſhop and Presbyter:* and indeed had they made any, there muſt have been Three Orders in the Church even before Deacons were inſtituted: for we own Biſhops and Presbyters to be antiently the ſame, but then certainly the Apoſtles were an Order above Presbyters, and diſtinct from 'um, and tho' 'tis plain their Order was only confin'd to the number of Twelve, in compliance to the *Jews*, and whilſt the Chriſtian Church was within their Nation, yet upon the Acceſſion of the *Gentiles*, we find not only *Matthias*, but *Paul* and *Barnabas*, *Andronicus* and *Junia*, and others, added to the Apoſtolick College: which ſhows that they were no longer to be confin'd to the firſt Number inſtituted by our Saviour; ſo that Biſhops, tho' modeſtly refuſing the N

of Apostles, yet are by almost all the Fathers, reckon'd in Succession from that Order in every Church, as was done in the *Jewish* Œconomy under the Administration of High-Priest: Such a Succession being in sacred as well as secular Matters, the only way to preserve the Unity and Uninterrupted State of a Society. Chap. IV.

P. But you see, serious Mr. *Tim*, that in Scripture, things Moral and Indifferent are equally enjoin'd and forbid, as Oil with Prayers, things strangled with Fornication, and washing one another's Feet is by our Saviour said to be so necessary, that he tells *Peter*, without it *he had no share in him:* and yet these the Church has thought fit to alter and discontinue.

T. Look ye, could you prove that the Apostles afterwards us'd that Ceremony, or that 'twas set as a Sacrament or Symbol of any of Christ's Sufferings, or ordain'd to be perpetual: this had been a Reason why the Church should have continued it still: but nothing is more frequent among wise Men and Doctors, than to inculcate some Moral Virtue by some outward Representation: thus our Saviour, when he would teach his Disciples Humility, sets a little Child before them: when he would represent the Nature of his Government over the Church, and the Unity of that Church with himself, he represents it by a Marriage, a Vine, and a Flock of Sheep: Now at this rate, we must never undertake to reprove without a Child in our Arms, nor to convert a Man but under a Fig-Tree: and if People may quote *Texts*, that are in the Nature of a positive Command, without minding what

Chap. IV. what goes before, and what follows, and the Circumstances and Occasions of their being spoken, he may call out to his Neighbours at Midnight to *watch*, or go into the Market at high Noon, and bid 'um, *Sleep on and take their Rest*; As for the forbidding to eat things strangled, it was done, as appears plainly from the Account, in condescension to the *Jews*: and when our own Church made such another condescension to the Papists, you know how ill you were pleas'd to take it: nor is it join'd with Fornication, as if 'twere as great a Crime, but because the *Gentiles* who ate things strangled, did also hold Multiplicity of Wives, and therefore they are both forbidden together, because they happen'd to be both committed together, and yet certainly both not equally heinous; The using of Oil with Prayers, is what indeed I could wish heartily were restor'd again: For the Gift of healing the Sick, continuing in the Church during the Apostle's time, such Persons were most commonly restor'd by Prayer and the Application of Oil, not but that sometimes a Handkerchief, a little Spittle and Clay, the Imposition of Hands, *or* the Shaddow of an Apostle, would work the Miracle as well: but still Oil was most usually employ'd on that occasion: now should we make use of this again, I know you'd call us all *Papists*, *Jacobites*, and *Jesuits*: and yet I make no doubt but a little of that Clay, Oil, or Spittle, would in a Years time save a world of *Balsam* and *Diaculum*.

P. You see, *Tim*, if a Man plants a Society, that gives him no Title to Gov

ment, why is it not so in Religion? The Apo- Chap. IV
stles might require all Nations to worship God so and so, and to have Ministers with such and such Qualifications, but the Right of chusing remain'd in the People: and therefore 'tis not enough to shew that Ministers must be obey'd, for so the Christians were commanded to obey the *Roman* Emperors: but they must shew some depriving Law, that forbids the People, and places the Right in the Clergy.

T. The Right of the first Planter of a Country, or of him, that first brought a Colony thither, is so generally acknowledg'd, that even the *Pyrates* and *Buccaneers* proceed thereupon: What Title had *Æneas* to *Italy*, or any of the Old Testament Fathers to their Plantations? And what had *Brute* to *England?* And yet you see the great sticklers for Monarchy shall spend their whole Lives in a Pilgrimage tho' Chronologies, Manuscripts, and Records, to prove such a Descent: and a *Republican* Gainsayer shall be at as much Pains on the other hand, to interrupt the Pedigree: now you may if you please understand by Apostles, only a Company of Carriers or Post-Masters, that were to send the News of the Gospel up and down the World, and leave People to themselves to make the most on't: but I can satisfie you, they won't be put off so: for if the Apostles had no Authority over the Churches they converted, why do they sometimes threaten 'um with the Rod, why summon their Elders and Presbyters, and why give 'um Laws and Canons by their own sometimes as well as the Holy Ghost's Authority? And why do they provide for the Succession by making Bishops

Chap. IV. Bishops for 'um? Was *Timothy* or *Titus* Mayor of *Ephesus*, or Vice-Roy of *Crete?* And why are they commanded to ordain Elders in those Churches, if those Churches could do it for themselves? Oh, say you, there is Obedience to be paid to the Emperor, as well as the Clergy; and oh, again say we, but if you will allow Obedience to the Clergy as well as the Emperor, all shall be well again; 'Tis true you are concern'd that there is no depriving Clause, nothing whereby the original Power of the People is taken away, and vested in the Clergy: whereas this same Power was never originally in the People: the Gospel began in *Judea*, and there the Priesthood was wholly independent of the People, and this Priesthood too was the Type of the Christian; Besides, you must know the Ecclesiastical Power at *Rome*, and in other Nations, was usually annex'd to the Throne, their Emperors and Kings sacrific'd, and perform'd the whole Worship of their Gods: now should there have been such severe depriving Clauses, as you seem to expect, it might have been justly thought, that Christianity was design'd to depose the Magistrate, since the Priesthood was in many places inseparably annext to his Power; But notwithstanding this, there are as good as negative Clauses, and which is more there is the Apostolick Practice: must not the Christian Priest derive his Call from God as well as the *Jewish?* And was *Aaron* call'd by the People? Is it not the very Definition of a Priest, *that he is taken from among Men*, and separated to a Holy Office: now I which is elected by Men, is not taken fi

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among them, but remains ſtill their repreſentative; were there not Shrines and Altars at *Epheſus*, and *Athens*, and *Rome*, and conſequently Prieſts? And do you ſuppoſe the other Cities and Counties, where the Chriſtian Church was planted by the Apoſtles, were without a Form of Worſhip, and Church Officers? And yet the Apoſtles always acted in their Territories with an Authority ſuperior to them, which ſhews, that all other Powers were excluded, notwithſtanding they were appointed by the Secular Authority. Chap. IV.

P. But if you conſult Scripture, *Tim*, you will find that all things relating to Church Diſcipline and Government, were wholly manag'd by the *Faithful*, the *Beloved*, the *Elect*, the *Saints*, to whom the Epiſtles are directed.

T. What then the *Cretans* and *Epheſians*, it ſeems, were the only People that were allowed by the Apoſtles to be under Epiſcopal Tyranny, for there it appears all Church Government is given to *Timothy* and *Titus*: truly that's hard, and yet I fancy that *the Saints*, *the Elect*, *the Beloved*, &c, as they are call'd in thoſe very Epiſtles you mention, had they not obey'd thoſe that were over 'um, thoſe that were their Rulers, their Biſhops, their Overſeers and Paſtors, would have been no longer *Beloved*, nor *Elect*, nor *Saints*: and if they were Saints, to whom theſe Epiſtles were directed, what think you were they, who wrote 'um?

P. Does not the Apoſtle tell them, that they are to judge thoſe *that are within*, to *put away the wicked Perſon*, to cenſure *the*

Chap. IV. *incestuous Corinthian?* And the Punishment against the Offender, *he calls*, the Punishment inflicted of *the many*.

T. 'Tis a hard matter, *Phil*, in judging of the State of the Primitive Church, when mention is made of Assemblies, to know which are for Worship, and which for Discipline: the Assembly where *the Incestuous* was judg'd, and other Criminals of that Nature, was in all probability of this latter sort, such Tryals and Examinations being not proper at publick Worship, or in the Acts of Devotion: now the Apostle being absent, had no doubt left the Government in the hands of more than one: not of all, for that would have been imprudent, and besides, would have contradicted your own Notion, that the Primitive Discipline was adapted to the *Jewish* Model: when therefore he writes to these, no wonder he writes in the Plural Number, but a Letter, suppose to the *University* of *Oxford*, or that of *Geneva*, does not imply that those two Places are in a Republican State, and without *Proctors* or *Intendants*: for this Reason the Apostle calls that Sentence, the Sentence of *Many*, not of *the Many*, as you are pleas'd to read it, but of *Many*, that is, not of all: for immediately after, by his own single Authority he orders it to be revers'd: and tho' they censur'd, and they put away, yet 'twas by his *Spirit*, *being amongst 'um*: where by his *Spirit*, he does not I suppose mean his *Ghost*, nor yet that same Spirit of God which he had, for that would have ordain'd 'um all Bishops, and left no Laity, and so spoiled your Argument: but he means, I suppose, by *Spirit*,

Authority, *Sentence* and *Judgment*, and so indeed he explains it, and thereupon requires 'um *to be obedient in all things.* Chap. IV.

P. But are not the Brethren bid, *to restore one taken in a Fault?*

T. Ay, but as the Text runs, 'tis such Brethren only, as are *spiritual.*

P. And *to warn the unruly, to avoid those that cause Offences, not to Company with a Brother that's covetous, and a Drunkard, or Railer*, &c.

T. Yes, and all this a Man may do, and yet not keep a *Proctor*, nor have any Title to a place in the *Arches:* but then besides this, nay in the very same Chapter and Verses, they are commanded *highly to esteem those that are over 'um in the Lord:* which was very ill Advice if the Lord had never appointed any to be over 'um, but made 'um all hail Fellow one with another.

P. You have heard of *Clemens Romanus:* he says of Church Censures, that they are things commanded by the People.

T. Ay, that is, *Phil*, where the People take scandal at a notorious Offender, that offers to Communicate with them, they can in such a case require his removal, but 'tis to no purpose for you to think of proving any thing against Episcopacy out of *Clemens*, for if you do, I'll tell you, I have seen his Name among the Popes and *Bishops*, and I won't believe one word *he says.*

P. But was not *Diotrephes* for *affecting preeminence*, and undertaking to *turn People out of the Church* by his single Authority, severely reprimanded by St. *John?*

T. If you please, *Phil*, we'll have the whole Story just as it lies in the 3d *Epistle* of St. *John*: now the design of that Epistle, is to commend *Gaius* for his Piety and Charity, especially towards some *Brethren*, *whom he would have him to bring on their way, and to relieve, because they took nothing of the Gentiles:* which said Brethren, he says, *had born witness of his Charity before the Church:* from all which 'tis plain, by *Brethren* he means *Ministers*, and not the whole Church or Christian Congregation: because 'tis not probable *Gaius* could relieve the *whole Church*, or bring the *whole Church* on their way: neither could the *whole Church* bear Witness of all this before the *whole Church*, for such kind of Evidence would have been very little credited; on the contrary, he censures *Diotrephes* for the opposite Practices: for he, instead of cherishing and relieving the Brethren, *prated against 'um with malicious words, and cast 'um out of the Church:* where, by *Brethren*, must be meant *Ministers*, for to cast the Church out of the Church, would have been a more extraordinary Miracle than any done by St. *John* himself: so that *prating against the Ministry, and presuming to depose them*, is that *pre-eminence* that *Diotrephes* affected, and you therefore who affect the very same, deserve just the same Reprimand.

P. But did not the People vote in the Elections of Deacons, and in chusing an Apostle?

T. The Text does not say they voted, but only that they *looked out* Men of good Lives, and fit for the Employ: but the Apostles declar'd the Qualifications, they Approved, and they Ordain'd, and that's all, *Phil*, that our

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Bishops desire, and therefore may justly thank you for the Quotation. Chap. IV.

P. 'Twas the People, that is, the *Church*, that separated *Barnabas* and *Saul* to the Ministry, and appointed 'um Companions for *Paul* in his Travels, who are therefore call'd the Embassadors of the Church and of the Saints.

T. What, then the *Holy Ghost* and the *People* are Synonimous Terms, and if I read in a *Gazette*, *last Week there arrived an Embassador from* Muscovy, *at the same time Mr.* Stanion *the Britannick Envoy set out for* Switzerland: it must plainly follow because they are call'd *Britannick* and *Russian*, that they are both Commission'd by the *People*, the *British* and *Russian Freeholders*.

P. Were not the Layty concern'd in the Council of *Jerusalem*, as well as the Apostles and Elders?

T. Ay, and so they are concern'd in the *Privy Councel*, and at the *Assise*: but which, d'ye think, have the greatest Concern, they that Rule or they that Obey?

P. Does not *St. Peter* declare to all, the Case of *Cornelius*?

T. And does not *Darius* make a Speech to his Soldiers? And does not the *Archbishop*, and *Dean* of *St. Paul*'s preach to the *Sexton* as well as the *Sword-Bearer*? And does not *Jack-pudding* direct himself to the whole Mob impartially? Can they therefore make *Darius*'s, *Deans*, and *Merry Andrews*?

P. And yet *Clemens Romanus* says, that Ministers were ordain'd by the Apostles, *with the consent of the People*, testify'd, by hold-

Chap. IV. ing up their Hands, for so the term χειροτονια imports.

T. And yet 'twas but a little while ago, and there was no such thing as Ordination, but by the People only: whereas now 'tis suppos'd to be done with their consent: and truly they may take my consent along with 'um, for I never said any thing to the contrary; and this we allow of, that no one should be Ordain'd if the People have any thing material to object against him; But pray have a care of imagining, as *Zonaras* did, that χειροτονια in these Cases signifies a real Poll and Tale of Noses, for he has been prov'd an arrant Ass for that mistake, unless you resolve to keep him Company; Besides, it so happens, that in describing the Ceremony of Ordination, χειροθεσια, is as often us'd as t'other, and then the Objection vanishes into Air, like the Votes of the People.

P. Prithee, *Tim*, had the Apostles any other Power, than to declare *Christ*'s Will?

T. Ay, but then part of that *Will* was, that they should be his *Deputies* and *Vicegerents* upon Earth, that they should *Rule and Teach with all Authority:* and they that despis'd 'um, were to be punish'd as severely as if they had despis'd their Saviour in Person.

P. Does not the Apostle say, *that he is the Servant of the People for* Christ's *sake?*

T. Ay, and I have heard many a worthy Bishop say it after him: but the *Pope* goes beyond 'um all, for he stiles himself *the Servant of Servants:* and yet I don't know how it is, but we see, they keep their Sees still; Nay,

you your self call the Magistrate the *People's Creature*, and yet he reigns still, and the Oath of Allegiance goes on as it did, and he writes *to his trusty and well beloved*, without ever remembring his Service. Chap. IV.

P. The Apostles, *Tim*, were far from preaching themselves: this is the design of *Antichrist*, *who sitteth as God in God's Temple, and would by signs and wonders, if it were possible, deceive even the Elect*; and if this be the Character of *Antichrist*, surely it can belong to none but *High-church*.

T. Now for my part, *Phil*, I have been call'd out so often under pretence of seeing *Antichrist*, and with very good assurance from those that belong to the Shew, that I should certainly have a view: and I have been so often deceiv'd, that I resolve to stir no more out of the Chimney corner for him; *Nero* and *Commodus*, and *Pope Joan*, and all her Successors, Archbishop *Laud*, the *Common-prayer-Book*, and the great *Turk*, have all pass'd for him: and they that pretend to compare Features, have undertaken to make out the comparison compleatly, and they have all fancy'd they found him: but of all Loves I desire you not to come into the number: for their *Antichrist* is no more like the Sign you have drawn for him, than some of Sir *Godfrey*'s Beauties are like the Originals.

P. Why so, *Tim?*

T. Why first, say you, *no Heathen can sit in the Temple of God:* now I would fain know the Reason of that: won't the Church Pewes hold a *Turk* in his Turbant as well as a Beau in a full bottom Wig? especially if you

Chap. IV. allow occasional Conformity; and why I pray you must not Antichrist be a Layman? Is it because Lay Powers, as you notably hint, are styl'd Gods in Scripture, which methinks should be a reason of their assuming that Title? If Signs and Wonders are part of the Marks of High-church, the only Wonders you think fit to charge them with, are the vulgar ordinary Miracles *of making a Knave an honest Man, and a Rebel a Saint, Page* 291; 'Tis plain they study for their Learning, they get their Orders by Donation, and their Sermons sometimes by Rote, and they can Write, Read, and take Tobacco: and if, as you say, their Name be Legion, yet I'm sure they don't deserve that Name, because they are all against popular Governments; whereas could we find a many headed Monster, that should pretend to all Power in Church and State, and to the mighty Miracles of giving the Spirit by Vote, and making Divines and Divinity by the Poll, and such like Feats: I question very much, if this *Antichrist*, *Legion*, or *Leviathan*, would not be as well star'd at as theirs, and prove every whit as like the Original.

P. I wonder, *Tim*, what pretence thou canst have for quoting that Text, *Obey those that have the Rule over you:* since the Original πειθεσθε only signifies, *to be persuaded*, and is every where else so Translated.

T. Suppose it were as you say, this is not the only Text by 40 that our Ecclesiastical Governours can hit us in the Teeth with, whenever we prove unlucky; but since you will bring us back to the *Lexicon* and *Grammar*, and such kind of *beggerly Elements*;

however, whether this be not as [illegible] Mo- Chap. IV.
derate, and Low-Church a Translation as [illegible]
be thought of: Now, the [illegible] sig-
nifies *to perswade*, and [illegible] tran-
slated, yet [illegible]
as 'tis set here in this Instance [illegible]
ly signifie *to obey*, and [illegible] one
of the renowned [illegible] the
Latin, as [illegible]
either of the [illegible]
sion, [illegible]
been as [illegible]
translated, [illegible]
same [illegible]
with the [illegible]
the [illegible]
Govern[illegible]
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in [illegible]
this Tra[illegible]
prope[illegible]
Greek [illegible]
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j[illegible]
ed [illegible]
[illegible] some-
[illegible] and
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[illegible]
[illegible] you

after, the *Translator* must be your very good Friend indeed, that would render it, *hard to be persuaded*, and not rather, *Infidel* and *Unbeliever*.

P. But besides this, the *younger are commanded to submit to the elder, and all to one another.*

T. True, and those were Maxims and first Principles even in the Days of *William the Conqueror* and *King Pepin:* and yet I can't find they were ever the worse for 'um: tho' I wonder in all this time, Parents, Masters, and School Dames, have not scratch'd 'um out of the Bible, that none of their Children and Scholars might thereupon take to *Rebel* and play *Truant*.

P. Do not *St. Cyprian* and *St. Ignatius* commend the *Spanish* Churches, for deposing two wicked Bishops? And are we not oblig'd to shun false Teachers and Seducers?

T. Ay, and the same Fathers as strictly require Obedience to good and holy Bishops, and so are all Bishops till they are prov'd otherwise, which the People may do if they please: and yet methinks 'tis very odd to bid 'um shun false Teachers, if none were true, but what they made themselves.

P. I know, *Tim*, there is another Text in *John* xx, piec'd with a scrap in the last of *St. Matthew*, that the Clergy very much rely upon: but now I say, that the Words ought to run thus, Εως της συντελειας του αιωνος, *even to the End of the Age*——That is till the coming of our Saviour to judge the *Jews*, *not to the End of the World.*

T.

T. And yet 'tis not long ago, that αιων in St. *Cyril* was set to signifie *Eternity*, and a whole parcel of Ages put together; but be it as you say: if so, then it should have been unlawful to preach the Gospel after the destruction of *Jerusalem:* so that the Doctrine of our Saviour, design'd, as you own, for all Ages and Men, must have ceas'd long ago, tho' there are those alive that have very good occasion for't still; Nay, tis plain by this Notion, that St. *John*, who outliv'd that Age, must have laid down of course: which he could not be brought to notwithstanding this Text: and besides too, should have given notice to the World, that Christianity was now over, and they might e'en return again to their beloved State of Nature.

P. But besides, this was spoken only to the Apostles, for there's not a Word of their Successors, so that Christ should have said, *as I send you, so send you others*, if he had design'd to include any others in this Commission.

T. Now to me the very Nature of the Promise intimates as much: when God says he would be *with the Children of* Israel *for ever*, it is not meant, that they, to whom he then spoke, were to live so long: but it must of necessity be meant of them, their Heirs, Executors, Administrators and Assigns; and if you restrain this other Promise to those Twelve that Christ then talked to, how will you make it good even to them? For many of them suffered long before that Age was out; but their practice is the best Comment upon the Place, since 'tis evident they did ordain Successors in the Apostleship, and the Holy Ghost

approv'd it, and besides the Holy Ghost, you also are pleas'd to acknowledge their Title.

P. But then if it must be extended to all Ages, why must not every Christian be included as well as the Apostles Successors? Is not this partial?

T. And you might as well ask why our Saviour confin'd it only to the Twelve? There were Christians then as well as the Apostles: Why were the Seventy left out? Or *Philip*, or *Zacheus*, or *Nathaniel*, all good Men and true? Nay when this very charge was given, there was not a full Jury, for *Judas* was hang'd? And the Text says expresly, *there were only eleven gathered together*: but it seems the Person here mention'd, pleads a Right Paramount to the rest of Mankind, *he is that he is*, and wills what he pleases, and no Body else has any thing to do to question him.

P. But is not the Holy Ghost promised to the Laity, as well as Clergy, *Acts* 2. 17?

T. God forbid they should be without it, that is, his ordinary Gifts: and as for his extraordinary, his Authority and Orders, if you can but show 'um to us in a Girl of fifteen, we'll believe her as soon as a *Patriarch* of six-score.

P. And when Christ promises *to be in the midst of two or three gathered in his Name*, does that give 'um a right to govern the Church?

T. Yes it does according to you, for, say you, this Clause gives the People such a right, they are a Church, and may do with it as they please; but I tell you, *Phil*, he is in the midst of all Assemblies whatever, Routs, Riots and Conventicles: and yet should he be

appear to a Company of eleven or twelve or thereabout, and give 'um a Law to publish to the whole World, with a promise to be with 'um for ever: I question if they would not think themselves in a fair way of Preferment, neither would they sell their Lives under I know not how many Years Purchase. Chap. IV.

P. Hast thou seen, *Tim*, how *St. Cyprian* magnifies the People, how he ascribes to them the making and deposing of their Bishops and Pastors: carries himself with all Humility towards them, calls 'um *most Holy, most Divine, the faithful and uncorrupted Majesty of the People?*

T. Look ye, it is your own Observation, how true, I will not say, that the Primitive Church was in many places settled, where the State was Republican, and in the Hands of the People: now there is all the Reason in the World, that where the People govern, the Bishops ought to use the same respect towards them, as they do toward Kings and Emperors, where they happen to be uppermost; and besides that, the disposal of Benefices, or in your Terms, the making and deposing Bishops, is as much in the Power of the People, where the State is popular, as in the Power of the Prince where the State is Monarchique: but this however is observable, that even Republicks, as appears from this very quotation, did admit of Bishops, which is just contrary to what you say, that the Ecclesiastical Form ought to follow the Civil; and therefore whatever notable Strains of Civility towards the People, you find in [illegible] *an*, I can assure you, we here in [illegible] can match 'um to a nicety: to our [illegible]

late States, where Kings and
the tiptop of their Grandeur,
gine, how they'll complement a
People, that is, provided they
and Tythes in good order, a
ſelves as they ſhould
ple, no doubt did: Had
Predeceſſors would have
Babes, *Children*, *Fools*, *Gal*
you have ſeen how they
good Brethren: ſubmit all to
by their Favour: call themſelve
thy Biſhops, their unworthy
Servants in Chriſt, moſt humb
ent, and moſt lowly: nothing i
glorious for the People; they p
ſometimes to 'um: nay, I have
ons to Ladies from Deans an
firſt Order, as ſoft and compla
vel or Billet-Deaux: *St. Pe*
to the Elect Lady, and the F
Barnes, preaching to a Cloyſter
them at leaſt 40 times over,
most Angelick Siſters, whom he

T. That may be, *Phil:* the Fathers are Men and may err, and therefore their greatest Credit is in matters Historical, and when they relate the antient practice of the Church: but for matters of Doctrine, tho' their Interpretations must needs be of more Authority than ours, yet their way of arguing is not, and therefore we are allowed to scan that, and not be too zealous in adhering to their Notions, unless where there is amongst them somewhat of Unanimity, and a general Agreement; For suppose you were to write a Panegyrick on the Devil: doubtless when you came to the quoting part, you would presently pitch upon *Origen:* and suppose you design'd to level the Priesthood: you would be sure every now and then to fling in a scrap of *Tertullian*; the meaning of all which would be this, that upon diligent search you had found, that you were not absolutely singular, but that you could tell of another that was of the same Opinion with your self: and yet tho' this Father holds the Question thus, 'tis plain the rest oppose him in't, and he stands mark'd by all subsequent Writers for an Error in this point: so that if one Father be for you, there are I know not how many against you: and then, if Authority and Votes signifie any thing, you know who ought to carry it.. Chap. IV.

P. But *St. Jerome* and *St. Cyprian* both agree, that for Order and good Rules sake, one of the Presbyters was made Superior to the rest: and he in all probability, by degrees got the Name and Power of Bishop.

T. Well,

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T. Well, *Phil*, I hope now you'll be of my side: this proves that Episcopacy is founded in good Order and Rule, which are as much requir'd by Scripture, as by Reason; besides, it shows, that if one of the Presbyters was superior to the other, still the Presbyters were superior to the People, which nearly concerns both you and *Tertullian*; now tho' all this be granted, yet why should you imagine that this *Primus Presbyterorum*, this Ruling Elder, *Antistes*, πρεσβυτος, for he goes by all those Names, should be the same with our Bishop, when to my thinking he seems to be no more than only a *Dean*, or head of a Chapter? for you must know, the antient Bishops, and *Paul* himself, after they had settled Chapters and Colleges of Presbyters, they reserv'd a Power over'um in Matters Ecclesiastical, and did often summon them in Person, treat with, and direct them: now 'tis very hard to treat with a Body Politick, unless they substitute one or two, or such a number, to manage for the whole, which is common in such Cases; so that you see the Institution of Ruling Elders was deriv'd from Episcopacy, and not Episcopacy from that; of the truth of this there are two very memorable Instances, and which do plainly shew the Ruling Elders to be a distinct Office from the Bishop: the first is in *Pseudo Ambrose*, whose Authority you have already acknowledged, and he says, *that in some Churches the Custom was, that the* Primus Presbyterorum, *or Ruling Elder, succeeded in the Bishoprick*: the right of Nomination was not, it seems, in the People: but then he adds, *th*
was made to abrogate this Custom, v

long obtain'd: now 'tis arrant Nonsense to say, that the Ruling Elder, or Chair-man of the Chapter, succeeded as Bishop upon every demise, if there were no difference between these two Offices: and the altering this Custom most abundantly shows, that these Offices were distinct from each other; the next Instance is from Scripture, and it is one of those Injunctions given by *St. Paul* to *Timothy*, upon his being made a Bishop: that Apostle commands him, to have a special regard to the Ruling Elders, those that presided over the rest, and were to have double Honour: against such, *he was not to receive an accusation but from the Mouth of two Witnesses:* so that 'tis plain they were a distinct Order and Office from the Bishop, and under his Jurisdiction; and indeed if the Office of Bishop was at first erected by Usurpation, and was the same with the *Antistes*, 'tis very ill done of many of the Fathers, nay, of *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, and *Jerome*, who are your greatest Favourites, in their Epistles to the Christian Churches, to reckon as they frequently do, the Bishops of those Sees in a direct Line from the Apostles, and thereupon to exhort their Subjects to Obedience, as tho' those Apostles were still with them, if the order of Bishops was quite of another Sort, and deriv'd from no such honourable Original.

P. But the Church, *Tim*, was design'd to be Incorporated with the State, and therefore it could never have an immutable Form, because upon the Emperor's turning *Christian*, it receiv'd of course many and considerable alterations.

T. No

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T. No doubt it did: but did any of the Emperors undertake to Ordain, or to Consecrate the Sacrament, or to be the Apostles Successors? If the Church had not a settled Form, how could it have subsisted before it was National? And surely 'twould have been very indiscreet and Foolish to have settled it in a Democratical Form, since Monarchy being at that time, the most universal and prevailing System, the Emperors and Kings of the World would in all probability have been very unwilling to admit a Form quite contrary to their own, into the Government, and hereby have given an ill president to their Subjects; and tho' Episcopacy answers directly to Monarchy, yet they needed not to fear a Rival, since *Christianity* has nothing to do with secular Force and Power, and is at utter Enmity with Mutiny and Rebellion.

P. But now here in *England*, you see *Deans* and *Chancellors*, even those of the Laity, *Archdeacons and Presbyters*, exercising Episcopal Jurisdiction.

T. I see they have some Rights in common with Bishops and so have all Mankind: but have they any Jurisdiction that is solely and purely Episcopal, that is, Episcopal by *Divine Right?* Can they ordain and make Presbyters? for that alone, as *St. Jerome* himself owns, tho' there were no other, will make a distinct order in the Church.

P. Does the making a Bishop, or ordaining him, make any more alteration in a Bishop, than Consecrating the Bread and Wine does in the Elements? And does not *Cranmer* himself own, that no more Grace is gi

conferring the Ecclesiastical, than the Civil Office? Chap. IV.

T. But is there the same Authority given, for that's the Question? He that is ordain'd Priest, is no more alter'd in his Person doubtless than he that's chosen Mayor: they have both the same tale of Limbs, and the same quantity of Brains, and yet so it is, that both Town and Parish can after this insignificant Ceremony, easily distinguish 'um from *Serjeant and Sexton.*

P. You know, *Bishop Stillingfleet*, in his *Irenicum*, disclaims the Divine Right of Church Government.

T. But what if the same Bishop has also disclaim'd his *Irenicum?* Does he not thereby acknowledge, what you should acknowledge with him, if you had either his Sense or his Ingenuity, *viz.* that he had since that, met with better Information.

P. And *Father Paul*, tho' a Papist, affirms, that all Church Government was originally in the People.

T. But then I can direct you to others, as good as Father *Paul*, tho' Protestants, that affirm just the contrary: but if the Divine Right be in the People, why did you say it ought to follow the Form of the State, and to be alter'd at Discretion?

P. There is Mr. *Hales* too, he says, that according to Scripture, every Man ought to prefer another before himself, and that all this Heraldry of *jub* and *supra* is owing to Human Compact.

T. Why then I would advise Mr. *Hales*, and you too, if you believe him, to prefer those

Chap. IV. those others before your selves that hold the contrary Opinion; as for the Origin of Human Government, we have had enough of that already, and if we should grant that 'tis merely of Human Invention, yet I'm sure 'tis of Divine Approbation; as for Ecclesiastical Government, if some must Rule and others Obey, and both by Scripture, yet both be equal: I see not why seven and five may not as well be taken into the very same Level: and if every one must prefer every one to himself in the very Letter of the Command, every one must be both Subject and Sovereign in the very same respect, and that you have already set down for an Absurdity; but if those common Expressions, that *we ought to prefer another before ones self, to look to the things of others as well as our own, and such like*, are always understood to import the Duties of *Impartiality* and *publick Spiritedness*, this not only contradicts your own beloved first Principle of *Selfishness*, but is an Argument to prove those Rights of Government and Superiority, which you would make 'um subvert, since these Duties are more remarkably incumbent on Governors and Men in Authority: neither do I believe, they were ever urg'd before in favour of Levelling, but by *Fools* and *Quakers*.

P. But what says the profound *Mr. Dodwell?*

T. No matter, *Phil*, you may spare him, his Altitudes and Profundities: I love no Reasons, but those that are lasting: whereas the seat of his Reason, is as frail as his Earthen Tenement, and yet I dare swear in spight of his

Doctrine, both he and you, will be immortal together. Chap. IV.

P. That's tart, *Tim:* I find I have stun'd thee in this Chapter, I had reason indeed to value my self upon the Performance.

T. Ay marry have you: For if ever *Paternoster* Hero wrought so many wonders in such a small space of Paper, I'll be bound to be Canoniz'd by one of their Two Penny Historians.

P. What are those, *Tim?*

T. I have known a *Jesuite* argue himself out of his *five Senses*, and a *Socinian* make as quick a dispatch of the *four Gospels*; and I have met with here and there a *Vertuoso*, that has made bold with *Antiquity*, and took upon him to rake in the Ashes of the Dead, to find if possible the least spark of contention that might set all in a Flame: but to think of meeting with one, that should down with *Divinity*, *Morality* and *Antiquity*, all at a clap, is certainly the greatest Argument imaginable of the strange Improvement of our Age, and must make you a perfect *Almanzor* in Controversie, and the *Champion* of *Wast Paper*.

P. And have I done all this, *Tim?*

T. Most certainly: as for our Divines, they honest Men, not thinking any harm I suppose, had gone and said, that it was very fitting that all good People should go to Church, and that if they did go, tho' there were but two or three in number, yet Christ would be in the midst of them: they also exhorted Men to shun all false Prophets and Teachers: that if they behaved themselves well, God would certainly be with them to the end: that it was law-

Chap. IV. ful for any of these People to declare abroad to the World, that Christ was *come*, and to read 'um a Chapter, if they pleas'd, to the purpose: and that upon their good Behaviour God would send them his Grace, make them his *Sons*, his *Heirs*, and his *Beloved*; now any one that sees these things in good Books and Sermons, and takes 'um as they lye, may perhaps find 'um to be altogether as harmless and innocent, as an honest Country Harangue upon Faith, Hope and Charity: but then a Politician that has large Thoughts, and a good set of natural Schemes in his Head, at first reading of all this, shall presently smoak the matter, that 'tis no less than *Scandalum Magnatum* against the Upper House of *Convocation*, and also an *effectual Prorogation* of the Lower: for if the People may go to Church, 'tis plain they make the Church, and consequently the Minister, since the Parson of himself can't make a Congregation without 'um: if they must shun false Teachers, then they must first judge who are false, and consequently who are true, else how shall they know 'um asunder? And they that judge are above them that are judged; if they can read the Bible to others, or tell it 'um by Rote, this is certainly preaching: the Right is in them, and the Pulpit, as well as the Pewes, is immediately their own; if they are God's Sons, Heirs, and Elect, can any one presume to take place of 'um? Are God's Ministers above his Sons and Heirs apparent? Now all this proceeds from the dextrous handling of a Text, and the *convenience of Interpretation*, as *Crelius*, an eminent Jugler that way, is pl

it: not that the Apostles, and other good Men, who utter'd these odd sayings, had any design against the *Arches*, or did really intend the Alienation of Church Lands: but you know, Dr. *Hammond*, and *Whitby*, and the rest of 'um, do all agree, that Texts for the most part have two meanings, one present, settled, literal and establish'd, the other changeable according to Circumstance, figurative and unsettled, and such as is ready against all seasonable Applications that shall happen. Chap. IV.

P. So much for Divinity: now to Morality, *Tim.*

T. Why that too, *Phil*, has many convenient things in it, and enjoins universal Charity and Benevolence, under which is contain'd the Duty of teaching the Ignorant, informing them and reproving them: it bids us use Lenity and Moderation towards all Mankind, commands us to be Just and Impartial, to regard another's Benefit as well as our own, and to prefer the publick before it: now all this was certainly known at *Athens*, as well as *Stationers-Hall*, and *Plato* and *Aristotle* could tell all this as well as *Toland* or *De Foe*: and yet for their Lives they could never discover, that all this was against their *Archons*, *Augurs*, and *Almanack-makers*: they had not the Sense to know, that if *Kings* and *Emperors* were to be as moderate as other Men, that therefore they should do n with their Courts of Judgment, where *Hanging*, *Drawing*, and *Quartering*, and other such persecuting Doctrines were Taught and Propagated: if *Generals* and *Senators* were to be humble, as well as *Freeholders* and *Private Centinels*, that therefore they must be desir'd

Chap. IV. to lay aſide their *Guards* and *Truncheons*, and come down to a Level with their *Neighbours*: if *Judges* and *Juſtices* were to mind the good of all, as well as their own, then 'tis plain all were as good as they, and as much in Commiſſion: if all were obliged to inſtruct, to exhort, and to improve, then what need of Prieſts and Oracles? And why ſhould the *Brown Cow* ſuffer, or the Altar ſpoil the *Kitchen*? So that 'tis plain, now as any thing can be, that theſe ſhrewd and extraordinary Conſequences were reſerv'd for the preſent ſearching and adventurous Age: and I cannot but think, if ſuch noble Undertakings, the Rudiments and firſt Fruits of free thinking, were duly purſu'd, it would in a little time appear from a juſt conſideration of the Nature of Fortitude, and extent of its Obligations, that every *private Soldier* in *Flanders* had really a good Moral Title to a *Truncheon*, as alſo from a due Examination of the Virtue of *Magnanimity*, that every *Porter* in St. *James*'s, had a fair legal Pretenſion to a Place at Court; all which, with a little practical Improvement, and a few Bleſſings from above, would ſoon make us in the Stile of Ancient and Modern Prophecy, a Nation of Princes, Parſons, Generals, Porters and Publicans.

P. Oh, on *Tim!* There's *Antiquity* wants to be conſider'd too, as well as *Divinity* and *Morality*.

T. True, *Phil:* the *Apoſtles* and *Fathers*, tho' they were, generally ſpeaking, Men of tolerable good Senſe, and pretty Parts, yet they did venture to give out, that their Kingdom was not of this World, and yet that it was a King-

a Kingdom, and had Powers of its own, ô therwise it would have been an ill Match for those Principalities and Dominions, it design'd to wrestle with: and tho' one would think their Kingdom not being of this World, was a good reason why the Kingdoms of this World should have nothing to do with it, yet they did not foresee what strange Lights would arise, and discoveries be made, and that a set of *Rabbies* should come forth, that would hereupon prove, that they and their Successors were to have no manner of Title to the gross Rights and Conveniencies of this World, but to subsist, like a better bred sort of *Camelions*, upon pure *Æther*; they did also undertake to set forth (how Prudently, the success must determine) that the Gospel-Priesthood was alter'd from the *Mosaical*, and tho' 'twas in their Judgments alter'd for the better, the order of *Melchisedeck* being restor'd, who 'tis plain, besides his *Parsonage*, had also a considerable Place at *Court*, yet who could tell what would happen hereafter? For so it was manag'd by dint of Modern Argument, that if the Christian Priesthood was really alter'd from the *Mosaical*, then no more Tythes, no more fatted Calves, no more *setting on the Pot*, at least *not the great one*, *for the Sons of the Prophets:* and yet notwithstanding all these slips, on they went still, and at their first meetings, they never took care to bolt the Door, or hire a Porter, but the *Vulgo*, the whole Commonalty, rush'd in upon 'um, and this was commonly call'd, *the Inundation of the Gentiles:* little did they think, good Hearts, that these *Gentiles* would in a little time

Chap. IV.

Chap. IV. ſwallow 'um all up, and when the Church came to be divided into Pariſhes, and but one Parſon was ſet to a Pariſh, as they reſolv'd not to maintain any more, and the Nature of a Church being limited to two or three, ſo that the Parſon of himſelf could not make a Church without the People, the Mob would preſently make it out that they made the Church, and were the Church, and the Parſon was theirs as well as the Church, ſince what they pay'd for, they could very juſtly call their own.

But matters did not ſtop here: for their next piece of ill management was, that in their Aſſemblies and Conſults, held for debating the Affairs of the People, for as much as their buſineſs was to ſave Souls, and knowing there were Creatures of that ſort among the Mob, therefore to pleaſe 'um, they ſtill admitted 'um into Company, and Speeches were addreſs'd to them, as well as to the *Honourable Bench*, as ſometimes I have known an Orator appeal to all Mankind: and when things were put to the Queſtion, they to be ſure would pop in their Verdict, as at an Election there's no hindring the *Boys* from hollowing as well as the *Freeholders*: and yet to the great diſappointment of theſe *Generaliſſimoes* of the *Church Militant*, they afterward were forbidden to Exerciſe their Men, or give 'um the *Word* of *Command*, or carry Canes at their Buttons, ſince the whole Body of *private Centinels* was as much the Regiment as themſelves, took up as much room in the *Court Martial* as a *General Officer*, and as appear'd by their own Harangues and Orations, were all *Gentlemen*

lemen and *Fellow Soldiers*; besides this, there was another inconvenience as bad as the former, for when they undertook to Ordain a Man, or to put him into the Ministry, they utterly forgot to furnish and provide him with a new set of Legs and Arms, and to bespeak him a few Tongues and Mouths more than what he had already, things very necessary in the Propagation of the Gospel, and which were never omitted even at the Ordination of a [a] Poet: whereupon it came to pass, that every idle rascal of five Foot six Inches, seeing no difference between himself and the best benefic'd Parson in the Country, except his Gown and Band and other Accoutrements, all which were to be had at the Shops, or except his *Latin* and his *Glebe*, which might be had also for Money and good Friends long before the Gospel was invented, he could not for his Life imagine, there was any extraordinary difference between *Parson* and *Parishioner*, or if there were any, it must lye on his side, who, bar *Constable* and *Paritor*, and give him a clear Ring and no favour, could fairly break the others Head, and lay him upon his Back when he pleased; Add to this, that Primitive imprudent Method, of praising and commending the People, whenever they did well: then forsooth they must be call'd *Saints* and *Holy*, and *Belov'd*, and the *precious ones*, whereby in a little time they undertook to be as good and precious as the best: for if the meanest of the Mob may be a Saint as well as the archest Bishop, where's the difference, since you are sure there may be Bishops that are not so? and therefore for the future, when you talk of *St. John*, and

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[a] Centum ora & Linguas, &c. Persius.

Chap. IV. St. *Thomas*, and St. *Patrick*, it is to be understood of all the honest *Johns*, *Thomasses* and *Patricks* in the Parish; Now as 'tis plain from Scripture, that there is no manner of light given towards the finding out the *Needle* and *Compass*, nor the least intimation of *Clocks* and *Barometers*, so neither, I'll warrant you, could it be foreseen, what notable Devices in the way of Reason and Argument would be hereafter found out and discover'd: and yet I dare venture to say, that if the Apostles and Fathers had really imagin'd, how these things would have been made use of towards levelling and confounding their own Order with the meanest of the People, and making them in a literal Sense, *the Filth and Off-scowring of all things*, I dare swear they would have highly recommended the *Christian* Duties of Pride, Selfishness, and Ambition, to all Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Parsons and Curates, rather than by recommending the practice of Humility and Condescension, give an occasion to level the Ministry with the Mob, or to justifie *Harry Martin* in his Notion of an *humble Clergyman*, or even those that wish 'um all *hang'd*, i. e. humbled to the last degree of Christian Humility, the *Death on the Cross*.

P. Now when thou hast empty'd all thy Gall, and vented all thy set of Traditional Jests, which thou hast Glean'd out of the *College* or *University*, including *Buttery*, *Common-room*, *Convocation*, *Theatre*, and *Musick-School*: yet will I still remain firm to the interest of the People, and the good of my Country, for whose sake I am engag'd in this Controversie.

T. The good of ones Country, *Phil*, is such a general *Topick*, that 'tis in every ones Mouth, that designs to do mischief, the Petty Pamphleteer that flies an *Octavo* almost every Term, and expects to do a Million of Mischief with a Threepenny Libel, takes this to his Text and first Principle, and the *Quack* that raises on the Pamphleteers Ruins, need but cast an Eye now and then on the shatter'd Relicks of the Politician in which he wraps his Drugs, to learn the same Cant, and preach from the Stage the Good of his Country, whilst he Bombards the Town with his Pills, and is at utter Enmity with its Inhabitants. Chap. IV.

P. But can'st thou, Quack in Controversie, as thou art, object this to me? Are not my Notions as well as Affections, entirely for my Country's Good?

T. If you please, we'll try a few of 'em out of this very *Chapter*; All things, relating to Polity and Government, are Means or Ends: the end of all Government is the good of the Persons Govern'd: the Means I call the Form of Government, or State and Constitution of every Nation: Now 'tis plain from Reason and Nature, that Means must give place to Ends, and People are oblig'd to alter and vary according as Circumstances require: so that if a Nation happens to have a War upon their Hands, the best way will be first to settle absolute Monarchy, that there may be no dispute about Taxes, no deficiency in the Funds, and no great stir for Recruits: but when a Peace comes, and the People are set upon Trade, it will be highly convenient to turn all into a Commonwealth, for the better advancement of Liberty and Property, and to prevent the

shuffle

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shutting up of the *Exchequer*; have we any regard for Religion, and would have it pure and uncorrupt? The best way will be to settle *Universal Toleration*, that every one may think, and believe, and live, and speak, and teach as he pleases, whereby we shall soon come to try all things, and to see which is best: and truly, where so many are sent out upon search, 'tis very hard if some body or another does not luck upon the right at last; in the next place, it being the duty of every one to promote Peace and Quietness, and to interpose with all friendly methods of Accomodation and Umpirage, to prevent Strife and Contention: it is much to be wonder'd, how any one Sect of Men, whether Judges, Mayors, Sheriffs, or Justices, can assume to themselves a right, which belongs in common to all: and therefore the pious designs of those memorable Patriots and Heroes, *Jack Straw*, and *Wat Tyler*, are never to be forgotten, who resolved to abolish these Usurpations on the People's Right: it being very remarkable that this was the antient Sense of the Nation, even before the most noble *Harrington* and *Sidney* came abroad, as appears plainly from the excellent Letters and Sermons of the Reverend *J. Ball*, the only Divinity of that sort, thought worthy to be transmitted to [a] Posterity: nay, all this is yet further evident, from his very [b] *Text*: however, some *Tory* Rascals have since that time taken care to blot it out of the Bible; And besides, is it not clear from Liberty of Conscience's being allow'd on all sides, that if

[a] *See the History of that Rebellion in the Reign of* Richard II. *by* Baker.

[b] *When* Adam *Delv'd, and* Eve *Span,*
Who was then a Gentleman?

People are not satisfied with the Terms of Allegiance and Temporal Communion, as some States are very imposing that way, they are to withdraw and separate themselves, not to pay any more Rates and Taxes, and if but two or three of them meet together in the Name of *Legion* and *Leviathan*, they are a true compleat Body Politick, and as such may send Envoys, make Laws, and assert their Independency and Right to the Law of Nations, and expect to be us'd by all the *High Allies* accordingly; In the mean time is it not as worthy our Observation, that no Courts of *Westminster*, *Leets* or *Sessions*, can be holden without the People? are not all Laws directed to them, as well as to the biggest *Peers*? Nay, they are more concern'd in the Law, than *Dukes* and *Earls*, who are sometimes exempt: and therefore the Courts, the Laws, the Gospel, all is theirs, and, as Serjeant *Kyte* observes, *they are Kings, Rumdukes, Emperors, and Justices of the Peace*; if now and then a Constable be made without them, or an Exciseman put into Commission and they know nothing of the matter, as sometimes such mistakes will happen: yet does it make any alteration in the Man? Is he a better *Wrestler* than he was before? Or can he pretend to more credit in the *Bear-Garden* than formerly? So that 'tis plain he is still one of the People, and 'tis their owning him, and being willing to be govern'd by him, that makes him an Officer, since if they should rise and tear him to pieces, or knock him on the Head, he could not help himself; And if it be really lawful to shun and avoid false Magistrates and Officers, and such as are unjust, and to run away from a Tyrant as fast as heels can carry one

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and then in your third *Chapter*, there you give but as your opinion, and so in the second, that different Forms make different Churches: and yet here in the fourth, you are for altering the Form of the Church upon every little occasion: Now if you do thereby intend to multiply Churches, as Arithmeticians do Figures, on purpose to bring 'um all into one Sum, well and good! but to leave the business unfinish'd, to turn 'um all loose, and bid 'um shift for themselves, was very ill done: you should have brought 'um together again, set Conferences on foot, and propos'd a project of Union, and fix't it if possible, to the first of *April*. Chap. IV.

P. No, *Tim*, I leave that to the People, whose right it is, and so I have prov'd it from Antiquity.

T. But methinks now, for a Man of reading and great proficiency, you have been very sparing to your old Friends, since, as I remember, you mention but three of all the whole bundle of Fathers: had any other great dealer that way been requir'd to produce Evidence from Antiquity, tho' it had been in any of the common cases, *the Fall of Adam*, *Dissolution of the Jewish Church*, or *Original Sin*, he would have lead us through all the *Greek* and *Latin Fathers* in Ranks, would have disht 'um all out in order, here a *Father*, there a *Bishop*, and next him a *Patriarch*, and the *Saints* would have crouded his *Margins* as thick as they do *Almanacks*; Now I can assure you, your Topick is more doubtful than any of these, and therefore it would have been very necessary to have gotten more hands, and instead of three *Fathers*, to have quoted 'em by

Chap. IV. the Score and the Dozen: I'm sure you would not have been thought tedious or troublesome: besides, you, who think all things should go by *Vote*, ought not to carry any thing without a majority; the *Ancients* of all Ages, before *Christianity* came in Vogue, those I mean that were addicted to study and thinking, and have left us any Instances of their skill that way, do all unanimously agree to undervalue what they call the *vulgar* and the *many*: they despise 'um to dirt, abhor 'um as common Nusances, and prefer some of the most useful brutes before 'um: and tho' Religion did no doubt correct and rectifie this uncharitable Opinion, yet to suppose it rais'd 'um from that abject State, to be all Judges and Magistrates, to have the whole Power at their Command, which in former days was always in the best Hands: this would have made such a vast alteration in the Nature of Government, and so remarkable, that the Writings of the Fathers would have been full of it, and you might have pick'd by the Indexes and Contents, without ever rifling the Body of the Book: whereas, you have only shewed by two or three Instances, that here and there a Bishop was made, or such and such matters were transacted, *with the consent of the People*, a frequent Expression in History and Chronicles in passing the most absolute Decrees, and at the Coronation of the most despotick Kings and Emperors: whereas had you a mind to have wound up all into a Demonstration, you should have produc'd an Instance or two at least, where there was a *Division* and *Poll*, and who were *Candidates*: For the People are not always unanimous, and there is no State, where the Mob have that Privilege, but there is frequent

quent mention of *Balloting*, *Polling*, the *Right of Votes*, and Qualifications of the *Candidates*, and the like: such an exploit as this, would have been something, but to prove only general consent, and that perhaps *Tacit* and *Imply'd*, is no more than what the greatest *Tories* and *Tyrants* always take for granted, without so much as troubling any of their Neighbours about it. Chap. IV.

P. 'Tis no matter, *Tim*, how I make out what I propose to be prov'd, since you fancy 'tis all to the disadvantage of the Church.

T. And yet there is no System so bad, but here and there a little good may be pick'd out of it: Nay, even yours is not quite so barren: for you are very willing to grant, that tho' the People are to chuse their Ministers, yet the Clergy are to prescribe the Qualifications: now I would fain know, what great difference there is between one and 'tother: since this, at long run, must needs vest the Right of Election in the Clergy: for they may say, that such and such only are duly qualified, meaning those, they have a mind should be put in; Then, as to your Notion of an *Immutable Form*: If it be really as you say, that no Model of Church Government is by Divine Right, but the State is to settle what it pleases: then the State having settled Episcopacy, that being also best suited with a Monarchical Form: and the same State having also the sole Power of ordering the Rites and Ceremonies of Worship, which it has done accordingly. 'Tis plain upon the whole, the State has acted herein agreeably to the design of Religion, and consequently the Laws in this case provided, ought to have their due force and Execution: And then, what will become of the *Dissenters*? Since they can't plead Conscience

Chap. IV. science to those Statutes, which, according to your own Notion, are entirely Temporal and Civil; Thus you have left your old Friends in the *Lurch*; But they need not wonder at such Changes, since you hold against all immutable Forms so very vigorously, that as you vary sometimes from all the World, so very often from your self too: Which, I suppose, is to convince Mankind, that you hold no Doctrine but what you design to practise.

P. Prithee turn o'er the Leaf, *Tim*, to the next *Chapter*: and let me shew thee the Mischiefs of thy Principles, and what great Prejudice they have done to Religion.

T. No, *Phil*, I have as much as I can away with, and no danger of a Surfeit; if you please, I'll defer the rest of the Dose to another Morning; Besides, I must leave you: for just now I hear the *Canonical Tangle* of our *College-Bell*, most opportunely summoning me, to the two greatest Duties of *Religion* and *Nature*, Praying and Eating.

P. Poor *Tim!* how wretched a Slave art thou, to every the least Utensil of Priestcraft!— Adieu *Tim!* 'Tis in vain to think I have wrought any good upon thee——will't thou remember me, *Tim*, and pray for thy Benefactors?

T. Oh! your Servant, Sir, you have improv'd my Zeal, and redoubl'd my Devotion: I shall be sure to lift my Hands at least a Foot higher, and very fervently exclaim—*Libera nos, Domine!*—When I call you to mind at the first sound of that Comprehensive *Clause* — *From all Sedition, Privy Conspiracy, and Rebellion: from all false Doctrine, Heresie and Schism: from hardness of Heart, and contempt of thy Word and Commandments.*

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AN

AN

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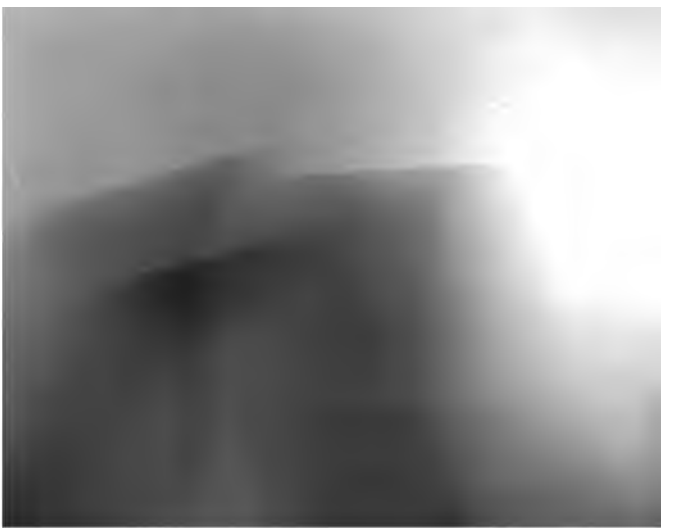

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